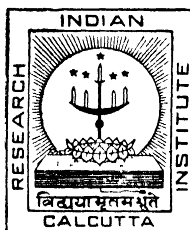
INDIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

FINE ARTS SERIES—No 1

BARHUT

BOOK I

STONE AS A STORY-TELLER



BY

BENIMADHAB BARUA, M.A., D. LIT. (LOND.)

Professor, Department of Pali, Lecturer, Departments of Sanskrit and Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, formerly a Government of India Scholar, and author of "Gayā and Buddha-Gayā". "A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy", "Barhut Inscriptions", "Old Brāhmī Inscriptions", etc.

CALCUTTA

1934

OBJECTS

(a) To publish the best products of Ancient Indian Literature in critical and moderately priced editions with translations and critical and explanatory notes in English, Hindi and Bengali or other vernaculars.

(b) To offer facilities to scholars to make researches in Ancient Indian Literature under proper direction and to embody their results in monthly magazines in English and vernaculars.

(c) To maintain a suitable library, museum etc.

(d) To open cultural centres in different parts of India and in other countries.

(e) To take steps to spread the knowledge of Ancient Indian Culture and Civilization.

(f) To be associated with other institutions with similar objects and to work for harmonious federation of all such institutions.

(g) To organize educational institutions on the lines of Ancient Rishikula with up-to-date resources for scientific and technical education.

Scheme of work

The following Series of Literature may be published simultaneously :—

(a) Vedic Series (consisting of the whole Vedic literature).

(b) Philosophical Series (consisting of the best products of all the systems).

(c) Smriti Series (including Puranas, Dharmaśastras, etc.)

(d) Buddhistic series.

(e) Jaina Series.

(f) Indian Positive Sciences Series (consisting of Indian chemistry, physics, mathematics, astronomy, etc.)

(g) Ayurveda Series.

(h) Indian Sociology Series (consisting of Indian Law, History, Economics etc.)

(i) Fine Arts Series.

(j) Miscellaneous (exegetic works on Indian culture).

Published by Satis Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., Hony. Secretary, Indian Research Institute,
55, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta, and printed by Jitendra Nath De, B.A., at the
Sreekrishna Printing Works, 259, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.

IN MEMORY OF

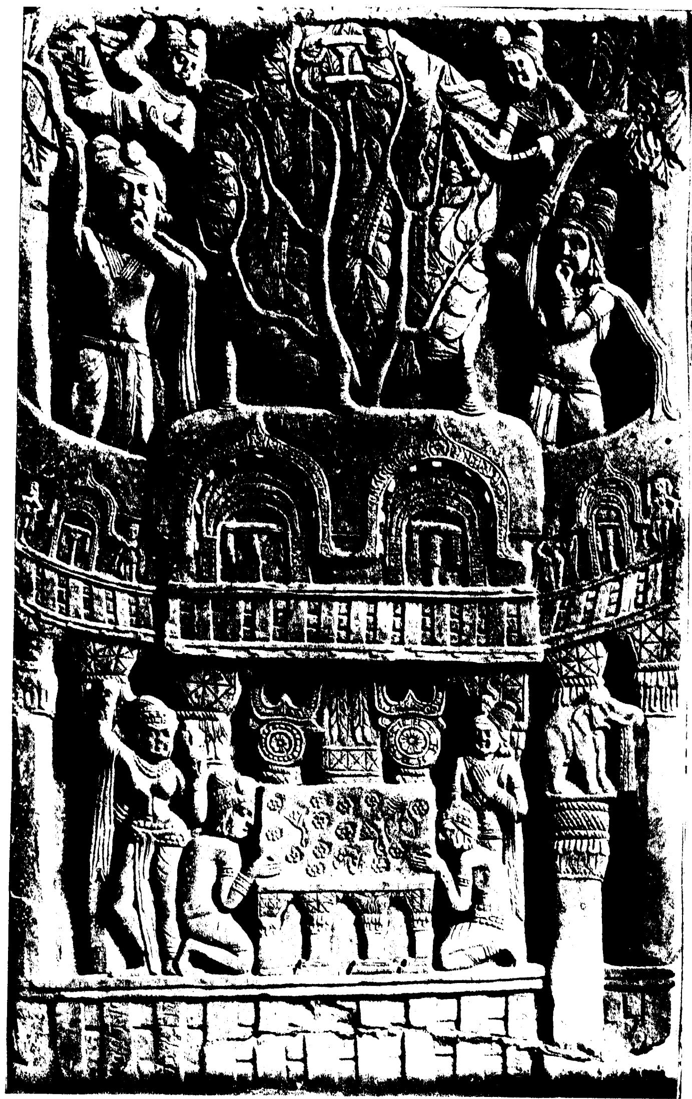
RADHARANI

THE ONLY LITTLE DAUGHTER

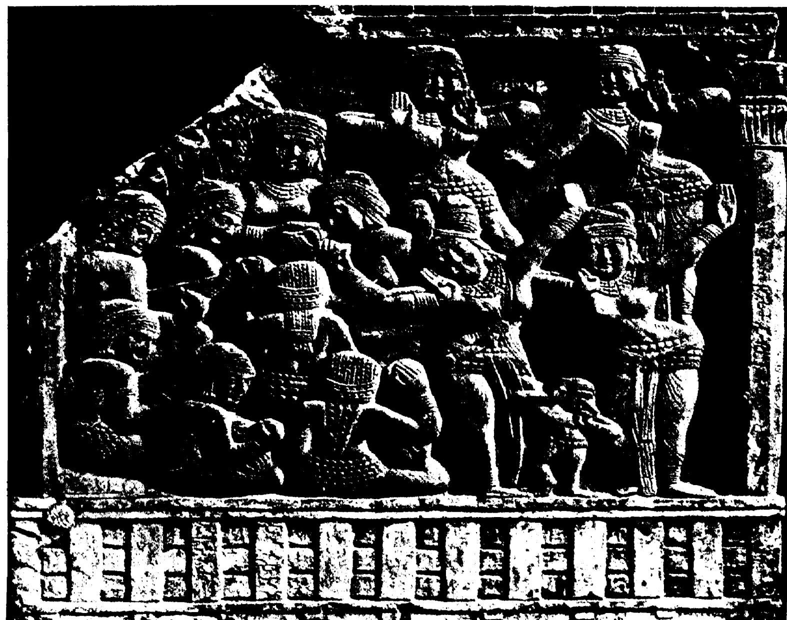
OF

Dr. B. C. LAW

—a distinguished Scholar and Patron of Buddhistic Studies in India at whose instance this work was undertaken and under whose genial care it developed.



The Bo-tree of Buddha Śākyamuni



SAḌIKAṂ SAṂMADAṂ TURAṂ DEVĀNAṂ

—A Divine Opera

-A Forecast of the Birth of the Bodhisattva

PREFACE

The illustrated monograph which is being offered to the public was completed about a decade back, and I cannot but feel a sense of relief to see it in print. According to the original plan, the monograph was to be brought out in one volume comprising five books, Bk. I dealing with the Barhut Stone as a Story-Teller, Bk. II with the Barhut Inscriptions, Bk. III with the Bas-Reliefs, Bk. IV with Art and Architecture, and Bk. V containing the Plates. This plan had to be partly given up when the late lamented Sir Asutosh Mookerjee arranged to get the Book of Inscriptions separately printed and published by the University of Calcutta. By this judicious step on his part, I could reap a twofold advantage : first, in seeing the Book of Inscriptions immediately printed and published, and secondly, in reducing the bulk of the whole monograph to a handy form. The inclusion of this particular book, as Sir Asutosh had then apprehended, would have made the publication unwieldy and marred the effect of the remaining books by its palæographical and philological technicalities that are of little importance to general readers interested only in the study of ancient monuments with their art and iconography. All that they may be interested to know of the Book of Inscriptions has been cautiously presented in Book I. The delay in publication of the remaining Books has proved of this much advantage that it has enabled me to set in order the whole Barhut scheme of Jātakas in the light of the corrections noted in the Book of Inscriptions.

As the plan now stands, the present monograph comprises three books, Bk. I—Barhut Stone As A Story-Teller, Bk. II—Barhut Jātaka-Scenes, and Bk. III—Barhut Art and Illustrations.

While I leave the monograph in its present form to speak for itself, I have to mention that I am deeply indebted to Dr. B. C. Law, M. A., Ph. D., not only for his liberal financial help, without which the very idea of undertaking such an arduous task as this would have been nipped in the bud and I could not have ventured to print even the reading portion of the work, but also for repeatedly urging me to undertake the task as one of paramount importance. Since its inception he watched the progress of the work with a keen personal interest.

Lastly, it is a matter of pride to me that the Indian Research Institute which stands for the propagation of Indian culture in a wider sense of the term has taken up the publication of the monograph as the first number of its Fine Arts Series.

Calcutta University,
January, 1934.

B. M. BARUA

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The Indian Research Institute, founded in Calcutta in July 1932 to propagate and resuscitate Ancient Indian Culture and Wisdom by the publication of critical editions of Texts and Commentaries with Translations in Indian and European languages and original researches connected therewith, is now presenting to the reading public an illustrated monograph on the Stūpa of Barhut, its Railings and Gateways prepared by Dr. B. M. Barua of the Calcutta University. With this as the first number, the Institute starts the Fine Arts Series along with the Vedic which is now in progress. The Fine Arts Series has been started in response to a pressing demand for it from some of the enlightened Indian Princes on whose munificence and liberal donations will greatly depend the success of a costly undertaking of this kind.

Since the first discovery of the Stūpa of Barhut in 1873 and the publication of an illustrated monograph on the subject in 1876 by General Sir Alexander Cunningham, the great ancient monument and its remains have engaged the serious attention of a large number of Indologists who have tried to bring the study of Barhut to a perfection. But their attempts were one-sided, piece-meal, and detached, while this monograph embodies the richest results of a gigantic effort made to deal with the subject in all its aspects, completing the work of identification of the bas-reliefs, almost half the number of which remained unidentified, reproducing all the sculptures that now survive, establishing a correct interpretation of the inscribed labels, both Votive and Jātaka, indicating their full historical bearings,—in short, drawing up a monumental pen-picture of the whole of Indian life as represented in the Barhut plastic art.

In order of chronology, the Barhut architecture and sculptures come after two earlier landmarks, namely, those represented by the finds at Harappa and Mohenjo-daro—the two ancient buried cities of the Indus Valley and the lingering remains of the Maurya art. The Barhut carvings excel all later Buddhist sculptures in meaning, if not in comprehensiveness. The Institute is interested to offer Dr. Barua's monograph 'as a boon to a man in the street' and no less as a specimen of modern painstaking researches that remain yet to be done in the domain of Ancient Indian Art and Iconography.

Indian Research Institute,
January, 1934.

SATIS CHANDRA SEAL

CONTENTS

ERRATA

P. 2. l. 17.—Read Stūpa for Sūpa.
P. 33. l. 12.— „ north for south.
P. 58. l. 9.— „ Jetavana for Jatavana.
P. 58. l. 12.— „ notable for notabla.
P. 58. l. 29.— „ Dharmachakra for Dharmochakra

BARHUT

BOOK I

STONE AS A STORY-TELLER

1. **Particulars of the Story-Teller** :—Here the Story-Teller is a piece of Indian stone-railing, which formerly surrounded the Buddhist Stūpa at Barhut.[1] Another local name of the village of Barhut is Bhaironpur. The remains of the great Stūpa were first discovered by General Sir Alexander Cunningham in November, 1873, when portions of two gateways, with the included quarter of the circular Inner Railing, were still in situ, nearly all thrown down and buried under a mound of rubbish. On his second visit in February, 1874, he succeeded in uncovering the whole quadrant of the buried Railing. The work of excavation, taken up by his able assistant Mr. J. D. Beglar in the beginning of March and continued for a month, resulted in many important discoveries, which were photographed as these were found. Subsequently he visited the site twice, each time accompanied by Mr. Beglar. During his visit in November, 1874, he made a complete exploration of the mound of ruins, systematically photographing all the sculptures. Broken bricks and pieces of pottery were discovered on a ground covering 1½ square miles or even a little larger area. Pieces of carved stones from the great Railing were then found scattered in some of the surrounding large villages for seven miles around, Uchahara, Batanmara, Pathora or Pataora, and Madhogarh or Patharhat. His last visit in 1876 enabled him to discover the remains of the corner pillar of one of the missing gateways together with several fragments. He began to write his instructive account of the unearthed buried treasures in 1874, and completed it in 1876. In the latter year, in spite of utilitarian vandalism attending the idea, the precious remains of the Stone-henge were carted away for their removal to a place of safety in Calcutta, where these were exhibited in the Indian Museum, there they forming an imposing sight within the "Bharhut Gallery." He gladly accepted the idea of

[1] The correct spelling of the modern name of the site is not yet settled beyond dispute. Late Prof. Rhys Davids suggested Bharahata, while Hultzsch and Luders have adopted Bharaut. Prof. Haraprasad Shastri tells us that the local people call it Berhut. But a letter received from a local gentleman confirms the correctness of the spelling Barhut or Bharhut. The late Diwan of Rewa told Dr. Vincent A. Smith that the correct spelling is Barhut. See Asoka, 3rd edition, p. 114, f. n. 1.

removal as a far lesser evil than leaving the lingering remains at the mercy of the villagers who were carting these away for building purposes. His compendious and well-illustrated monograph, the Stūpa of Bharhut, was published three years later, in 1879, by order of the Secretary of State for India in Council. Rev. Subhuti, a learned Buddhist monk of Ceylon, helped him considerably with suggestions about identification of subject of the sculptures with the Pāli Legends of the Buddha.

2. Ruinous condition of the Stupa :—The Barhut Stūpa which is now a mound of ruins,[1] was in former times a mound of bricks, embosoming the steatite-box or relic-casket, deposited inside. Cunningham was told that a small box (ḍibiyā) was found in the middle of the brick-mound, and handed over to the Raja of Nagod. This must have been a Relic-casket, which, even if it was found out, must now be taken as lost. This being missing, it is impossible to say whether its contents were the relics of the Buddha or those of a deceased great Disciple,—of a Good Man (Sapurisá), as he would be honoured in the Sanchi and Sonari Stūpa-inscriptions. The remnants of the Stūpa are too meagre to justify big guesses about its shape or size. But as might be inferred from the designs of sūpas on the existing Railing and E. Gateway,[2] the Barhut builders had before them the model of a solid structure, with a hemispherical dome, supported upon a cylindrical base and crowned by one or more large stone-umbrellas, with streamers and garlands, hanging from the rim. The umbrella itself was set upon a square platform or plinth, with a small stone-railing or hti ornamenting it on the top of the hemisphere. The surface of the dome was ornamented with an intertwined floral design of a double chain-work, containing in its undulating folds some large flowers, suspended from long stalks, hanging forth from the top. The hemisphere, with the crowning construction and other paraphernalia, must have a shape resembling the bell. Our Stūpa must have evolved from a parent form of primitive tumulus. Apart from the exigency of the peculiar building design, the idea of the dome may have been suggested by the shape of the visible universe, consisting of a vaulted canopy, resting on a circular horizon of the earth.[3] The cylindrical base of our Stūpa was ornamented with several rows of small recesses for lights. The triangular forms of such recesses in each row must have presented three lines of lights. Indeed, the arrangement of rows and recesses indicates that the illumination could not but have taken the form of a diamond-shaped network. The sides of each recess, as conjectured by Cunningham, were formed in two steps, each holding five lights. The recesses were nearly 13½ inches broad at top and 4½ inches at bottom, and from 8½ to 9 inches apart, there being

[1] Scene No. 3 [2] Scenes Nos. 13, 23 (h), 25 (c), 54—55. [3] Scene No. 1.

120 recesses in the whole circumference, and 600 lights in each row. From the mound of ruins one can yet collect several specimens of bricks of varying size and thickness, most of which are plain and square in shape, 12x 12x 3½ inches, those of still larger size being from 5 to 6 inches in thickness. There are many old Indian treatises, the Sulva-Sūtras, in which various patterns of bricks are named and classified. There is evidence to prove that brick-built houses (giñjakāvasatha) were well-known in the Buddha's time, while the discoveries made at the two buried cities of Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro clearly prove that bricks were abundantly in use as building materials so early in India as 3000 B. C. The diameter of the Stūpa was at least 62 feet and 6 inches, giving an interior diameter of 88 feet and 4½ inches for the stone-railing enclosing it.

3. **Composition of Inner Railing :**—Our story-teller is the famous Inner Railing which was a circular structure, with four openings on four sides. At each opening there was a gate (dvāra) or an arched gateway (toraṇa). Thus the Railing was divided into four equal segments or quadrants. It was a composite of four distinct elements: (1) pillar (thabha)—the erect post, (2) underground plinth of pillars (adhiṭhāna), (3) rail (suchi)—the needle or cross-bar, and (4) coping (unisa). Each quadrant of it was a strong network in stone, of sixteen pillars, needled by three rows of cross-bars, provided with a plinth at the base and covered at the top by a massive coping. The direct approach to the Stūpa was covered by a Return, which as a similar network was really an outward elongation of one extremity of each quadrant, consisting of four additional pillars and looking like the arm of an Indian Svastika or that of a Greek Cross. Each Return presented three pillars on each side, including the corner-pillar of the quadrant. Thus it can be shown that the entire Railing contained 80 pillars and 228 rails in all, 20 pillars and 57rails in each quadrant and its outer extension. Barring the gateways and the Returns, the design of the Railing conformed to the model the Barhut artists had before them[1].

4. **Remains of Outer Railing :**—There was a second stone-railing of much smaller dimension than the Inner Railing. Its remains, discovered by Cunningham, consisted of two small pillars, four pieces of the curved stone-plinth, and no less than 10 specimens of the curved coping-stones. There must have been about 240 of the small pillars, and about 750 of the rail-bars, each of which was 18 inches long and 7 inches broad. Of the two pillars that now survive, one belonged to a corner position and the other to a middle place. Both of them are 2 feet 1 inch high and 7 inches

[1] Scene No. 2

broad. The plinth and the coping were each 7 inches in height. Thus the total height of the Outer Railing was 3 feet 3 inches. The corner pillar has a single human figure on each of the two outer faces, and the middle pillar, a similar figure on its outer face. The figures stand with joined hands, in an attitude of respectful devotion. We find that the figure on one of the faces of the corner pillar is Naravāhana, which is a point of resemblance with Kubera, figuring on the Inner Railing. The figure on the middle pillar resembles that of Ajakāla Yaksha of the Great Railing. The coping-stones that have been found are quite plain. Barring the isolated figures of Yakshas,[1] the Outer Railing appears to have been plain. This Railing enclosed the Inner Railing, quadrant by quadrant, each quadrant extending from the middle pillar in the arm of the Return, directly connected with the Inner Railing.[2]

5. **Terraced Floor** :—Between the magnificent Inner Railing and the Stūpa Cunningham also found a clear space of 10 feet 4 inches wide, affording the pilgrims a spacious ground for perambulation round the sacred mound. The whole of this space was covered with a thick flooring of lime-plaster, the outer edge of which was finished by a line of curved kerb-stones, cut exactly to the circumference of the inner circle of the Great Railing, and the pillars of this railing were set against the kerb-stones which just touched the diameter of the lower half medallions. A similar terraced floor could be seen for a width of several feet between the two railings.[3]

6. **Votive Stupas and BrickWalls** :—It is on the outer extension of the terraced floor that Cunningham detected traces of Brick Walls, as well as some Votive Stūpas of stone. These scattered foundations were no other than the plinths of small mounds and other objects.[4]

7. **Flight of Steps** :—On the western side of the Stūpa, Cunningham saw a solid stone ladder 3 feet 1 inch wide, consisting of seven steps of 10 inches. The height of the accumulated rubbish, from which the visitor had to descend into the area of the Stūpa Court, was not less than 6 feet. This Flight of Steps probably occupied the actual entrance between the two lines of railing, i. e., between the terminus of a Return of the Inner Railing and the end of a Quadrant of the Outer Railing standing opposite.[5]

8. **Discovery of Gateways** :—Of the four Gateways at four openings in the Inner Railing, that on the east has been restored almost completely. Each of its two lower pillars is a group of four octagons joined together, and none of them bears any sculptures. The untiring zeal of Cunningham enabled him to collect

---

[1] Scene No. 12. [2] Scene No. 11. [3] Stupa of Bharhut, p. 12. [4] Ibid, p. 12 [5] Ibid, p 13.

the piece of a Gateway-pillar from Pataora. The half of its face is cut away, and the remaining half is adorned with the representation of a continuous scene of the Great Renunciation[1]. One of its sides bears in the upper half the figure of the hunter-goddess Mahākokā[2], and in the lower half an elephant walking ahead of the other. This elephant is seen carrying a long branch of a flower-tree grasped by a young elephant with its upraised trunk. A similar representation appears on the other side of the architrave. These scluptures correspond to those on the curved centre of the lower architrave of the E. Gateway.

9. Meaning of Torana[3] :—In the dedicatory inscription on the E. Gateway as well as in a similar inscription on the fragment of each of two other Gateways, the donor says that he caused a Toraṇa to be made and a stone-work produced. Did he mean by Toraṇa the whole Gateway in each case, or is it that in some instances he meant the entire Gateway and in some just the upper part of it, i. e., the ornamented arch, added as a superstructure over the gate or door represented by two stone-pillars ? This question is natural when we find that the lower pillars of the E. Gateway are each a group of four octagons, joined together, and none of them bears any sculptures whatsoever, while the pieces of two lower pillars of two missing Gateways have each a square shaft and bear the figures and Jātaka-scenes[4] having a most intimate connexion with the general Barhut scheme of sculptures. If the whole of the E. Gateway be taken away or lost, no harm is done to the Barhut outline of the Buddha's life, but the removal of the other two Gateways means a serious gap in it. Keeping these points in view, we cannot but presume that as regards the E. Gateway, the donor must have meant the whole of it, and in the other two cases, only the ornamented arches[5].

10. Location of Four Gateways :—The E. Gateway was erected on the east side of the Stūpa. The difficulty lies about ascertaining the relative position of two other Gateways, of which just two pieces of lower pillars now remain. One point is certain that their lower pillars had a square shaft. If we may suppose that the W. Gateway was of the same pattern as the Eastern, the pieces of pillars that have been found must have belonged to the Gateways on the north and the south, though it is impossible to ascertain which piece belonged to the N. Gateway and which to the southern. Dr. L. A. Waddell says, "The eastern gateway was certainly

[1] Scene No. 18. [2] Scene No. 19. [3] Stupa of Bharhut, p. 8 : "Toran is a well-known name at the present day for an ornamented archway as well as for the ornamental frames of wood which are placed over doors, and archways at the celebration of weddings. Some of these have a single horizontal bar, some two, and others three. In the wedding Torans the ornaments placed on the top are birds and flowers." [4] Scenes Nos. 18-19. [5] The views are slightly modified, see passim under Age.

not the main entrance, and indeed, from the location elsewhere of the inscribed images of the four guardian gods of the Quarters, this eastern gateway was probably not a part of the original investing structure at all."[1] According to him, the main gateway was the southern, at which three out of the four great guardians, were collected, namely, those of the south, east, and west ; and over the southern was carved a miniature replica of the stūpa. "This position for the main entrance," he argues," is explained by the topography of the site with reference to the old road and the adjoining stream-bed." "The second gate was on the north with the northern guardian Kupiro, i. e., Kubera, in charge. Such an allocation of these four guardians into two groups is the invariable rule in Buddhist buildings only where two gateways exist. It is thus almost certain that the eastern (also western) gateway was a later addition to the Stūpa-enclosure." Dr. Waddell's views about the Eastern and Western Gateways are quite sound. But the fact that three out of the four Guardians figure at the Southern Gateway is a mere conjecture. The truth is that only one Guardian, namely. Viruḍaka, figures there. The presence of a Stūpa as a symbol for the Buddha's Great Decease cannot be pressed as a valid argument, and that for this simple reason that such symbols can be seen on upper pillar of the E. Gateway, as well as on other parts of the Great Railing. The topographical argument is the only argument which deserves our serious consideration. But this does not certainly prove the greater importance of the S. Gateway. The utmost that we can say is that before the erection of the Eastern and Western Gateways, the Southern and Northern Gateways consisted each of two pillars with square shafts and without the ornamented arches. The east entrance was considered to be the main entrance. There are two stronger proofs of the importance of this entrance. The first of these can be deduced from a Votive inscription, and the second from a certain sculpture. In entering the Stūpa area by the south entrance, the pilgrim or visitor could not but be attracted by the pillar of a S. E. Quadrant of the Inner Railing, on his left hand side. The Votive inscription, incised upon it, distinctly refers to the gift as the First Pillar (Paṭhama-thabha).[2] The majesty of its outward form and the richness of its sculptures are sure to engage attention. The sculptures themselves represent only a scene of the royal procession, carrying the relic-casket to be deposited in our Stūpa.[3]

II. **Arches of Four Gateways** :—The construction of the lower parts, i. e., of the lower pillars of the four Gateways, was not uniform. The lower pillars of the

[1] Article on "Date of the Bharhut Stupa Sculptures" in J. R. A. S., 1914, pp. 138 foll. See also his article on "Evolution of the Buddhist Cult" in Asiatic Quarterly, 1912. [2] Barua Sinha, No. 4. [3] Scene No. 17 (a)

N. and S. Gateways were each square in form. and bore on their faces and sides certain figures and scenes belonging to the general Barhut scheme. The lower pillars of the E. and W. Gateways, on the contrary, were each a group of four octagons, joined together. If all the Toraṇas or Arches, irrespective of lower pillars, were erections made by King Dhanabhūti, we have to inquire whether they were of the same pattern or of different patterns. Of the three horizontal beams in the Toraṇa of the E. Gateway, the upper one has been restored partly and the middle and lower ones almost completely.[1] The lowes and middle beams are each composed of a curved centre and two outer ends composed of open-mouthed crocodiles with curled tails, the middle beams being distinguished from the lower figure of a bird that appears on the right side, on the roof of the mansions faced by the crocodile in the outer end.[2] The outer ends of the upper beam now survive. These and the outer ends of the lower beam show exactly the same composition. The outer side of the curved centre of the lower beam presents a procession of four elephants, of two on each side of it, bringing offerings of flowers to the Bodhi-Tree and Throne of the Buddha, represented in the middle with two human worshippers, one worshipping them on each side. The curved centre of the middle beam presents a similar procession of four leonine animals, bringing offering to a fictitious Bodhi-Tree and Throne. The sculpture, if there was any, on the curved centre of the upper beam, must have been the same as that on the lower architrave fragments that are preserved in the Indian Museum, one representing a right crocodile end, and the other, a curved cenre. The presence of the figure of a bird indicates that the crocodile-end belonged to a middle beam, and the ornamentation on the curved centre shows that it belonged to a lower or an upper beam. We do not know whether these fragments are remnants of one arch or of two separate arches. But they certainly show that the arch or arches to which they belonged were constructed on a common pattern.

12. **Ornamental Details on the Lower Beam** :—The curved centre of the middle beam shows the same ornamental design and sculptural details on its two sides. The curved centre of the lower beam (and of the upper beam ex hypothesi) shows the same general design but not the same details. On its inner side we have a fine representation of Aśvattha, the Bodhi-Tree of Buddha Śākyamuni, with the Bodhimaṇḍa at its foot[3]. The Bodhimaṇḍa itself has a long and rectangular piece of brick-built altar attached to it in front. On two sides of the altar and the throne we see two human worshippers, paying their homage. The worshipper on the right appears from his dress to be a high royal personage who stands placing

[1] Scene No. 13. [2] Scene No. 14. [3] Scene No. 16.

his left hand on his breast and reverentially touching the Bo-Tree with his right hand. The worshipper on the left stands with joined hands, held on his breast, in an attitude of respect. The royal worshipper on the right wears a long thick coat over his body, and a costly scarf over the coat. the ends of which are beautifully hanging on his back. The worshipper on the left is seen wearing scarf over his bare body in a different fashion, and his figure is represented for want of space as slanting sidewise or backward. We need not be surprised if the worshipper on the right is intended to represent a figure of King Dhanabhūti[1], the famous donor of the Gateways and Arches and the worshipper on the left to represent his attendant. The procession of wild elephants bringing flower-offerings to the Bo-Tree is represented behind the human worshippers. In the right half two bigger elephants are carrying each a bunch of lotus-buds, beautifully held up by the trunk, keeping in front a small young elephant that gently walks on towards the Bo-Tree and the Throne. The left half also shows three elephants, one of the bigger elephants walking ahead, carrying a long branch of a flower-tree which is grasped by a young elephant within the fold of his uplifted trunk. A similar scene of worship of the Bodhi Tree and Throne is depicted on the outer side,[2] where instead of six elephants we have four, the younger elephants being dispensed with, and the position of the two human worshippers is reversed.

13 E. Gateway :—This Gateway, as restored by Cunningham, is composed of two curiously shaped lower pillars and an ornamental arch, the former supporting the latter.[3] Each of the lower pillars has a finely chiselled square pedestal (chaturasra padasthāna), while its shaft is formed of a group of four octagons (ashṭāsra stambha), with their capitals similarly joined together. The capital of each octagon has, like that of the Aśokan monolith, a bell shape and a lotus-ornament (padmabandha), and is crowned by a smaller cylindrical plinth adorned all over with the pericarp of a full-blown lotus. The four capitals with their drums are covered by a square-shaped single abacus, surmounted on one side by two winged lions, and on the other by two winged bulls, crouching side by side and back to back. The lower pillars, as measured by Cunningham, are 1 foot 4½ inches thick, and 9 feet 7½ inches high ; the four-grouped capitals with their abacus are each 1 foot 1½ inches high, while the height of the surmounting figures is 1 foot 10½ inches. Thus the total height of each pillar is 12 feet 7½ inches. It is on the four consecutive faces of two octagons that the famous dedicatory inscription of King

[1] The reverse also may be true, in which case the person into the right must be taken to represent an attendant wearing the royal livery. [2] Scene No. 16. [3] Scene No. 13.

Dhanabhūti is incised. The toraṇa proper, i. e., the ornamental arch, is a fine network of two upper pillars, three massive architraves, and a large number of small balusters and statue-pillars. Each of the upper pillars has a square shaft, rises from a pedestal, is set in the space between the animal figures on the abacus of the lower pillar and crowned by a Triratna-symbol, composed of two small tails of the makara or two young shoots of lotus-leaves, looped and joined together at the bottom, with a pointed upward projection, the device approaching the form of an Indian trident. The lotus plants are seen springing from the bottom of the bulbous root and one is apt to mistake them for ferns with shooting leaves.

The Triratna-symbol rests upon a full-blown lotus, which itself is set erect upon three receding tiers of stone, the whole of this ornament lying over the upper architrave. The shaft has on its outer face three square mortices into which the square parts of the projecting ends of the three architraves are rivetted. Between these there are two square blocks or dados, each of which presents, according to Cunningham, a face of three Persepolitan half-pillars standing on a Buddhist railing, with two large lotus-flowers in the intervening spaces. The architraves or horizontal stone-beams have each a curved centre and two projecting ends. Each end has a spiral of the curled tail of a crocodile, the gaping mouth of which remains facing the pillars. The square parts of the beams, between the curved centres and the crocodile-ends, bear each, on one side, a symbolical representation of the Bodhisattva's Descent by two beautiful mansions, lying one above the other and containing a cubical jewel-seat of the Buddha, canopied by an umbrella with a wreath or garland hanging from its rim, and on the other, a symbolical representation of the Buddha's Decease by a stūpa, covered by a single parasol. The curved centre of the lower beam bears, on each face, a symbolical representation of the Buddha's Enlightenment by a procession of four elephants, two on each side, bringing flower-offerings to the Bodhi Tree and Throne in the middle. The curved centre of the middle beam similarly bears a fictitious representation by a procession of four leonine animals, two on each side, bringing lotus-flowers towards the Bodhi Tree and Throne, the Tree being a creeping plant of bushy growth, (a bamboo-clump, according to Cunningham). The ornamentation of the upper beam was probably the same as that on the lower. The long spaces between the central curved parts of the beams are uniformly filled with several small balusters and pillar-statues which are placed alternately. Their tenons differ in size and can only fit into the alternate mortice-holes in the beams. The pillars with statues are throughout square in form, while the balusters are invariably octagons with pedestals and capitals approaching those of Persepolitan pillars. The square abacus of each baluster supports the figures of

two ordinary deer, sitting side by side and back and back. Among the surviving statue-pillars in each space, we come across two standing male and two standing female figures, the former apparently representing two guardian angels with front views, and the latter two heavenly maidens, one with a front and the other with a back view. When all the statue-pillars and balusters are fitted into their respective mortices in two spaces, the effect is twofold according as we consider them apart from or along with the three beams and the Gateway-pillars. Considered apart, the effect is the representation of a celestial court between two colonnades, the four guardian angels guarding the four corners, and the four maidens adding charm by their eagerness to enjoy the blessings of life. Considered in relation to the beams and Gateway-pillars, the effect is the representation of a parapeted bridge over the river of life with hungry crocodiles that lie in wait on its two banks. This bridge is the dharmasetu made by the Buddha. It rests high on two posts, formed of four Aryan Truths and Eight-linked Way. The Buddha's Birth and Decease are respectively the beginning and end of its progressive pathway, which rises like a ridge in the middle, where we have the symbol of the Buddha's Enlightenment. The middle is the stage of the greatest triumph in the struggle of the Buddha to lift himself up above the normal level of dharmatā. Its pathway, posts and parapets serve to prevent those who walk by it from falling into the flood and within the grasp of the crocodile, representing passion, delusion and hatred. This crocodile embodiment of evil followed the Buddha from his Birth till his Decease. When it began the chase from one bank of the river, it was in full vigour and power[1], and when it came on the other bank, continuing the chase, it became old, flabby, fatigued, worn out, dim-eyed and powerless[2]. These two stages in the life of the crocodile are clearly represented by the three figures on each side. A square stone-block is set upon each crocodile-end of the upper beam, and it bears a symbolical representation of the Buddha's Renunciation by a caparisoned horse with a seat on his back, canopied by a parasol, standing over two chauris. A larger block of stone is set upon the central part of the upper beam, bearing a symbolical representation of the Buddha's First Sermon by a fern-like fictitious lotus-plant, springing from behind a half lotus-medallion, with eight shooting leaves, four on each side of the central stem, crowned by lotus-shaped wheel. The leaves top on each other, the two upper leaves topping, on each side, on a lotus-flower, attached to the central stem, just below the wheel. In Cunningham's opinion the sculptured statues are much superior in artistic design and execution to those of the Railing-pillars. The back views of two female figures distinctly show that the

[1] Scene No. 14. [2] Scene No. 15.

lower garment has been worn by them as dhoti, exactly as is done by the men in India. Cunningham is right in saying that of the four leonine animals on the middle beam, the animals on the right have each a human head and that on the left a bird's head, while the two in the middle are true lions with wide open mouths, all having thick manes, arranged in two rows of stiff tufts. The total height of the Gateway from bottom to upper beam is about 20 feet[1].

14. Relative Position of Railing-Quadrants, Railing-Returns and Gateways :—If the Stūpa were enclosed by Railing-Quadrants and Gateways without Railing-Returns, the whole of the Inner Railing would have made a large circular stone-henge with four wide openings towards four cardinal points, with a high gateway erected immediately before each, each opening standing between the terminus-pillars of two Quadrants and the Gateway-pillars being set just near the outer faces of these pillars and somewhat in line with their outer sides. The four Returns added to the four quadrants served to prevent direct approaches to the Stūpa or Central Mound, and protect the Gateways. Each of these Returns looked like an arm of Indian Svastika or Greek Cross, and its Rail-bars were fitted into mortices on the outer face of the right terminus-pillar of each Quadrant viewed from outside, or of the left terminus pillar in an inside-view, the position of each Return in relation to each Quadrant being such that a visitor desiring to enter the Stūpa-Court by E. Gateway, had really to approach from the north, one entering by S. Gateway, had to walk from the east, one entering by W. Gateway, had to come from the south, and one entering by N. Gateway, had to proceed from the West.

15. Remnants of Inner Railing and Ruins of a Monastery :—Cunningham tells us that when he first visited Barhut in November, 1873, he saw a large flat-topped mound, with the ruins of a small Buddhist Monastery, and three pillars of a Buddhist railing with three connecting Rails or bars of stone. and a Coping-stone covering them, beside a single Gateay-pillar which once supported the toraṇa or ornamental arch of the entrance. The remains of the Monastery contained, among other things, a colossal statue and several smaller Buddhist figures which could not be dated much earlier than 1000 A.D[2]. Subsequent visits, excavations and explorations enabled him and his assistant Mr. Beglar to discover, unearth, collect and locate portions of four Quadrants, whole or part of some of the Returns, several pieces of isolated Railing-pillars, Rail-bars and Coping-stones belonging to different Quadrants and Returns. The Quadrants are named S.E., S.W., N.E., and N.W. as Cunningham located

Stupa of Bharhut, pp. 6 foll. [2]. Stupa of Bharhut, p. 4.

them on the site of the Stūpa or found them in situ. He was informed by the present Jagirdar of Barhut that in the first quarter of the 19th century, the site of the Stūpa was entirely covered with a thick jungle and the Railing was then nearly perfect. But he traced several of the Barhut stones in the castle of Batanmara, which was at the time of his visit more than 200 years old.

16. An anomaly and how it can be removed :—Cunningham has arranged and catalogued surviving portions of the Quadrants and Returns as he located them on the spot or found them in situ. Some of the Gateway-pillars and architraves, and several of the Railing-pillars, Rail-bars and Coping-stones, either whole or part, were found over a large area, comprising many villages seven miles around. The brickmound was found completely pulled down. The bricks and stones were carried away to be used as building materials. The hand of spoliation was active all along. Everything was at sixes and sevens. The erection of a second stone-railing, namely, the Outer Railing, suffices to prove that some mishaps had already befallen the Inner Railing many centuries back. Imagination fails to go so far as to conceive the complications and amplitude of vandalism and havoc. We admit that Cunningham located them so on the very spot or found them so in situ. We can even freely concede that the Quadrants and Returns stood as he found them as early as the time when the Outer Railing was erected as a means of protecting the Inner Enclosure. But who can tell us what the exact condition of the Inner Railing was and what repairs were made or what changes were effected then ? Anyhow, in following Cunningham's arrangement and naming of the Quadrants and Returns we are confronted with a serious anomaly, namely, that the figure of Kuvera, the Guardian of the North appears on the inner face of a pillar of N. E. Quadrant which bears the figure of Ajakāla Yaksha on its outer face, and that of Chandrā Yakshiṇi on its outer side, which is possible only in the case of the left terminus-pillar of a Quadrant. Now, if this pillar was really a pillar of N. E. Quadrant, it could not but have stood at the eastern extremity, making Kuvera appear as the Guardian of the East. The anomaly may be removed only if we assign this pillar to N. W. Quadrant and take it to represent the left or northern terminus-pillar.

17. Railing-pillars :—Cunningham says that 35 pillars, more or less perfect, were found on the site of the Stūpa, along with numerous fragments of others. Six other pillars were discovered at the neighbouring village of Batanmara and no less than eight more at Pathora, making a total of 49, i. e., more than one half of the original number of 80. He holds out the hope of obtaining some more pillars about Pathora. These pillars are all monoliths of the same general pattern as

those of other Buddhist railings. They are 7 feet 1 inch in height, with a section of 1 foot $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches side for the mortices of three Rail-bars. The corner pillars in the entrance are 1 foot $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, which is the very same section as that of the Sanchi Stūpa Railing-pillars. The Barhut pillars are 1 foot less in height. The edges of all of them, except the corner pillars, are slightly bevelled on both faces, and they are ornamented after the usual manner of Buddhist railings, by a round boss or full medallion in the middle. and by a half-medallion at top and the same at bottom, All of these medallions are filled with elaborate sculptures, chiefly of lotus flowers or of flower compositions. But there are also several of animals, and a considerable number of scenes taken from Buddhist legends and history. A few have single figures either of Yakshas or Yakshiṇis, or of Devatās or Nāgarājas Several of these single figures have no inscriptions to identify them. The sculptured scenes of the pillars illustrate several Jātakas and Legends of the Buddha with their titles inscribed above them. The scalloped or bevelled edges are also sculptured with various ornaments, which add greatly to the decorative enrichment of the whole Railing. These consist chiefly of flowers and fruits with human figures, both male and female, standing on the flowers, with their hands either in an attitude of devotion, or reaching upwards to the fruits. On some of the pillars the flowers bear elephants, winged horses, monkeys, or peacocks, while parrots and squirrels hang from the branches and nibble the fruit. The ornamentation of the corner pillars of the entrances is quite different from that of the others. The pillars of the inner corners generally bear figures of Yakshas and Yakshiṇis, Devatās and Nāgarājas, to whom was entrusted the guarding of the four entrances. On the two outer corner pillars there is quite a different arrangement. The faces of these pillars are divided into three compartments or square panels by horizontal bands of Buddhist railing. Each of these panels is filled with sculpture representing some scene or legend in the history of the Buddha. Several of these are extremely interesting, as the inscriptions attached to them enable us to identify the different stories with certainty.[1]

18. Pillars of Quadrants :—The left terminus-pillars of Quadrants, viewed from outside, i.e., Cunningham's pillars of inner corners, can easily be distinguished from other pillars of the Great Railing by the fact that only on their inner sides they have mortices for three Rail-bars of Quadrants, and spaces for sculptures on their outer sides and inner and outer faces. Each of these spaces is generally filled, as noted by Cunningham, with a life-size figure of Yaksha, Yakshiṇi, Nāga or Devatā. The right terminus-pillars, i.e., the pillars at angles formed by Quadrants and corres-

Stupa of Bharhut, p. 6.

ponding Returns, have mortices on their inner sides for the Quadrant Rail-bars, and mortices on their outer faces for the Rail-bars of Returns. Thus they have spaces for sculptures on their outer sides and inner faces. As distinguished from them, the remaining pillars of Quadrants have mortices for Quadrant Rail-bars on their inner and outer sides, and spaces for sculptures on their inner and outer faces.

19. Pillars of Quadrants :—The terminus-pillar of a Return, precisely like the left terminus-pillar of a Quadrant, has mortices for the Return Rail-bar on its inner sides, and spaces for sculptures on its outer sides and inner and outer faces. Each of these spaces is generally divided by Buddhist railings, as noticed by Cunningham, into three square panels, each of which is filled with a scene from the Buddha's life, present or previous. The pillar at the angle formed by two sides of a Return has mortices for the Return Rail-bars on its inner face and inner side, and spaces for sculptures on its outer face and outer side (on its right and left sides, according to Cunningham). Each of these spaces, exactly as in the case of a Return terminus-pillar, is divided by Buddhist railings into three square panels similarly filled with interesting Jātaka-scenes. The position of this Return-pillar corresponds in some respects to that of the right terminus-pillar of a Quadrant. The remaining two pillars of a Return occupy the same position in relation to its two sides as that of the remaining pillars of a Quadrant in relation to the Quadrant.

20. Right Terminus-Pillar of S.E. Quadrant :—This was, according to the incised Votive label, the First Pillar of the Inner Railing, and a memorable gift of Chāpādevi, the wife of Revatimitra of Vidiśā. It appears to have been the largest and heaviest among the pillars of this Quadrant. It is ornamented on its outer side and inner face with a sculpture representing a scene of Relic-procession, and a prominent base or pedestal, composed of two separate pieces of Buddhist railing, that on the outer side resting on the left shoulders of two pot-bellied, fat-bodied and frog-like Indian palanquin-bearers, and that on the inner face, on the heads of three royal elephants, standing majestically side by side and in line.[1]

21. Scene of Relic-Procession :—The head of this procession, as represented on the outer side of the Barhut First Pillar, is composed of three caparisoned elephants, standing majestically side by side, with three royal personages, one mounted on the shoulder of each, with a goad held in the right hand. The elephant in the middle is much larger and taller than those on his two sides, and appears to be a state-elephant. The rider mounted on his shoulder has a much superior dignity than others, and appears to be a king as leader of the procession. This high

[1] Scene No. 17 (a).

royal personage carries a relic-casket, placing it on the elephant's head and holding it carefully in his embrace. This casket may be really a cylindrical small box, provided with a handled lid. The tail of the procession seems to have been intended to be composed of two horsemen and standard-bearers, and represented on two faces of the First Pillar. But actually the scene of one horseman is found sculptured on its inner face, where the rider, mounted on the back of a caparisoned horse, narrows the loop of the reins so as to restrain the horse's motion and make him halt. The same motive is apparent in the attitude of the horse's right foreleg. Thus the representation is one of a scene of arrival of the royal procession on the site of the mound in which the casket was to be deposited.[1] This was probably designed to remind the visitor or pilgrim of how the relic was brought over to Barhut and what really constituted the sacredness and importance of the place. The name of the king who came at the head of the procession is not mentioned. The visitor or pilgrim was perhaps supposed to have known it well who this king was. In one of the small panels of the Coping-stone covering this part of the Quadrant we see a scene of the same procession, where only the main elephant is represented as moving on with the leader mounted on his shoulder holding the goad and the relic-casket.[2] This goes to show that the main elephant came ahead, being followed by two smaller elephants with their riders. The horseman on the inner face of the First Pillar must have followed these elephants, bearing a standard, which appears to be a small pillar-shaped rod with a flying angel, borne on its capital, and carrying a large piece of hanging garland. This standard is evidently a Garuḍadhvaja, the human-shaped flying angel representing the mythical bird Garuḍa. We might have seen a similar scene of standard-bearer on the outer face of the First Pillar, if there were space for it, we mean, if the Return Rail-bars were not joined on this face. The scene is represented elsewhere, on the outer side of the right terminns pillar of another Quadrant. Here the standard-bearer is a female figure. The head and mouth of the animal upon whom she rides are broken off. But the whole of its back part which remains shows that it is a horse or horse-like animal with the same halting posture of its left foreleg[3]. The scene is sculptured in such a manner that the pillar being turned round, it will appear as if it stood on the outer face of the First Pillar to complete the tail of the procession.

22. **Three other Right Terminus-Pillars** :—The right terminus-pillars of three other Quadrants have been recently removed to Calcutta and placed within

[1] Scene No. 17 (a). It was the usual custom to carry the relvc-casket (dhatu-changotd) by a king by placing it on the head of a state elephant. See Oldenberg's Vinaya-Pitaka, Vol. III, p. 329, the reference occurring in Buddhaghosha's Samanta-Pāsādikā, Introduction. [2] Scene No. 9 (a). [3] Scene No. 17 (b).

the Bharhut Gallery of the Indian Museum. One of them is sculptured on its outer side with the figure of a female standard-bearer, and on its inner face with the figure of a Yaksha mounted on a bearded and human-faced quadruped. In this example, too, the figure of the standard-bearer representing the rail of the relic-procession is set upon a Buddhist railing. The second pillar bears on its outer side the figure of a Sirimā goddess, and on its inner face the figure of a Yaksha, both remaining standing on level ground[1]. The third pillar is sculptured on its outer side with the statue of a Yaksha or Nāga, and on its inner face with that of a Yakshiṇi or Devatā.

23. Prasenajit Pillar :—This is the S. Gate Return terminus-pillar which has three square panels on its outer side, and three square panels on each of its two faces, inner and outer[2]. These panels are filled, as noticed by Cunningham, with distinct Jātaka-scenes and divided by Buddhist railings. At its base and below each lower panel, there is a Buddhist railing on a pavement, borne up on the upraised hands of three men, who sit characteristically high on their legs, as though trying to stand up and failing to do so on account of the heavy weight. The general architectural design of its base is the same as what we see on the eastern terminus-pillar of S. E. Quadrant, the First Pillar of the Barhut Railing. Seeing that the upper panel on its inner face contains a scene of King Prasenajit's visit to the Buddha, Cunningham designates it Prasenajit Pillar.

24. Ajatasatru Pillar :—This is the W. Gate Return corner pillar with three square panels on its outer side and three such panels on its outer face. These panels are divided by Buddhist railings, and occupy the whole of the outer side and the whole of the outer face. Each panel is filled with a distinct Jātaka-scene, and one of the scenes on the outer side consists of a representation of the Buddhist legend of King Ajātaśatru's interview with the Buddha[3]. There can be little doubt that this and Prasenajit Pillar belong to the same class.

25. Brahmadeva Pillar :—This is the N. Gate Return corner pillar bearing a scene of Brahmadeva's visit to the Buddha which fills two large square panels on its outer face,[4] and a scene of the Jātaka-episode of Vidūra and Pūrṇaka, which fills some four such panels on its outer side.[5] The panels, exactly as in the case of Ajātaśatru Pillar, occupy the whole of its outer side and the whole of its outer face, and are divided by Buddhist railings.

26. Pataora Gateway Pillar :—The pieces of the Barhut Gateway-pillar found at Pataora show on some of their faces and sides the same panel arrangement

[1] Scene No. 7. [2] Scenes No. 17. [3] Scene No. 51. [4] Scene No. 41. [5] Scene No. 136.

of the Jātaka-scenes as that which we see on the Brahmadeva Pillar.[1] The Jātaka-scenes of this Gateway-pillar belong, as we have seen, to the general Barhut Railing scheme of sculptures, and as such, they must be treated as integral parts of this scheme. The same holds true of the pieces found at Batanmara.

27. Chronological Position of Returns :—The result of our study of the First and three other Right Terminus, Prasenajit, Ajātaśatru, Brahmadeva and Pataora Gateway pillars is that they represent a distinct form by themselves. They show a close agreement in respect of the architectural device at the base and the panel-arrangement of the Jātaka-scenes. Among them, the first four are the right terminus pillars of four separate Quadrants, the fifth is the S. Gate Return terminus-pillar, the sixth is the W. Gate Return corner pillar, the seventh is the N. Gate Return corner pillar, and the last one is a remnant of a lower pillar of one of the Gateways. This Gateway pillar, as we noticed, is distinct from the lower pillars of E. Gateway. The right terminus-pillar of a Quadrant belongs as much to the Quadrant as to the corresponding Return. Our study of the four examples that we have, rather shows that they belonged more to the structure of the Return than to that of the Quadrant. Upon the whole, it seems that the four Returns including the right terminus-pillars of the four Quadrants, and the South and North Gates of two pillars each were additions made at a certain date. We mean that originally the Inner Railing was a circular stone-enclosure, divided into four Quadrants by four openings on four faces of the Stūpa, without the Returns and without the Gates and arched Gateways.

28. Date of First Pillar :—The Barhut First Pillar, i.e., the right terminus-pillar of S. E. Quadrant, connected with the E. Gate Return, was a precious gift from Chāpādevi of Vidiśā, the wife of Revatimitra.[2] On one of the isolated fragments we trace an inscription which records a gift from Vāsishṭhi of Vidiśā, the wife of Veṇimitra.[3] From the general Barhut convention we can easily conjecture that Chāpādevi and Vāsishṭhi, and their husbands Revatimitra and Veṇimitra were members of a royal family of Vidiśā. If this royal family be the one connected with Agnimitra, the powerful Śuṅga Viceroy stationed at Vidiśā, we must understand that the First Pillar which was the gift of Chāpādevi, the four Returns, and the South and North Gate-pillars (probably without the carvings) were set up during the reign of Pushymitra, the traditional founder of the Śuṅga Dynasty, say, between 184 and 148 B. C.

29. Disposal of Original Right Terminus-Pillars :—If the Returns, as

[1] Scenes Nos. 18-19 [2] Barua Sinha, No. 4. [3] Barua Sinha, No. 120.

described above, were really later additions, we have to inquire how the original right terminus-pillars of four Quadrants were disposed of in adding the Returns. We see that they could not be retained where they were, for they were too small in sides to make an angle with two arms, one with mortices for the Quadrant Rail-bars, and the other with mortices for the Return Rail-bars, as if two Railing-pillars combining into one and making the breadth of the outer side equal to that of the inner face. For the same reason they could not be used as the Return corner pillars. They could not be set up as the Return terminus pillars, if they were sculptured after the Quadrant pattern. They could not take the place of the Return intermediate pillars, if their outer sides were not plain or carvings on these sides were not cut away for the sake of mortices. Keeping them intact, they could not be used as substitutes for any other Quadrant Pillars but those in left terminii.

30. Return Intermediate Pillars :—In one of Cunningham's original photographs we see a small fragment of a Return Railing containing a single instance of a Return intermediate pillar. It shows three mortices on each of its two sides, and is ornamented on its inner face with one full medallion in the middle and two half medallions, one at the top and one at the bottom.[1] That is to say, this pillar is shaped and sculptured in the same general pattern as the Quadrant intermediate pillars. Cunningham was able to collect from amongst the fragments pieces of two stone pillars of different dimensions and with a different arrangement of the medallions from those of the Quadrant pillars. Both of them bore inscriptions written in letters which were not different from those of other inscriptions except in being much thicker and more coarsely executed. These pillars were evidently of the same breadth and probably of the same height as those of the Inner Railing. They followed an arrangement according to which two full and two half medallions could be accommodated on each of their faces. One of the inscriptions, with the words Bahuhathika-āsana Bhagavato Mahādevasa, distinctly refers to a representation of the Buddha's seat, guarded and worshipped by many elephants.[2] They must have belonged, as Cunningham conjectures, to some distinct enclosure other than the Great Railing.[3] But we have seen that in the case of other smaller Votive Stūpas and Shrines on the outer extension of the Terraced Floor the enclosures were brick walls. If they were of the same breadth and of the same height as the Railing pillars, they must have been meant to fit in with the Great Railing. We suspect that these were the two Return intermediate pillars with a special arrangement for two full and two half medallions on their faces.

[1] Barua Sinha, No. 188. [3] Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 13—14.

31. Left Terminus Pillar of N. W. Quadrant :—This pillar bears on its inner face the life-size figure of Kuvera Yaksha,[1] the Guardian of the north, that of Ajakāla Yaksha[2] on its outer face, and that of Chandrā Yakshiṇī[3] on its outer side. Kuvera is seen standing on a man, Ajakāla on an animal-faced makara, and Chandrā on a makara which is horse-faced. These vehicles are sculptured at the base of the pillar.

32. Left Terminus Pillar of S. E. Quadrant :—This pillar bears on its outer side the life-size figure of Virūḍhaka Yaksha,[4] the Guardian of the south, that of the Dragon-chief Chakravāka[5] on its inner face, and that of Gāṅgeya Yaksha on its outer face. Virūḍhaka is seen standing on a high rock, Chakravāka on a rock over a lake, and Gāṅgeya[6] on a tree and an elephant. These stands and vehicles are sculptured at the base of the pillar.

33. Intermediate Statue Pillars :—Our inquiry reaches a point where we can distinguish the left terminus-pillar of each Quadrant as a statue-pillar. But similar statue-pillars can also be traced among the intermediate uprights of a Quadrant. The main difference between these and left terminus statue-pillars is that the former bear figures only on their faces, and none on their outer sides as these are filled with mortices. In the S. E. Quadrant we have an intermediate pillar which bears on one face a male figure standing on an elephant, and on the other face a female figure standing on a lotus-cluster, the stands and vehicles occupying the base of the pillar. The male figure is Supravāsa Yaksha[7] and the female figure is a Lotus-nymph.[8] In this Quadrant there is just another intermediate pillar which bears only on one face the figure of the goddess Chūlakokā[9] standing on an elephant under a tree. In the S. W. Quadrant we find one intermediate pillar which bears on one face the figure of Sūchiloma[10] standing on a Buddhist railing, and on the other face the figure of the goddess Sirimā[11] on a similar railing. The half of a pillar, split sidewise, bears on its face the life-size figure of a soldier-like figure[12], probably of some Asura or god, standing on a Buddhist railing at the pillar-base. If the other half remained, it would perhaps have shown on its face a female figure of some yakshiṇī or goddess. There are three other intermediate pillars, belonging to different Quadrants, each of which bears a female figure only on one of its faces. One of the female figures standing on a horse under a tree is probably the goddess Madhyamakokā[13], the other standing on an elephant or rhinoceros-faced makara is

[1] Scene No. 60. [2] Scene No. 61. [3] Scene No. 73. [4] Scene No. 58. [5] Scene No. 70. [6] Scene No. 62. [7] Scene No. 64. [8] Scene No. 81. [9] Scene No. 75. [10] Scene No. 63. [11] Scene No. 78. [12] Scene No. 71. [13] Scene No. 76.

Sudarśanā Yakshiṇi[1], and the third standing on a man is perhaps Kuvera's queen[2]. The pillars that bear single figures are all sculptured with female statues.

34. Plainness of Original Intermediate Pillars :—It seems that the original right terminus-pillars of Quadrants were each sculptured with three statues generally comprising one male figure on one face, one female figure on the other face, and one female figure on the outer side, When they were replaced, they could not be utilised, if they were at all utilised, in the Quadrants except by cutting off the female figures from their outer sides for the sake of mortices. If these figures were meant to be retained, they could not be retained except by reproducing them on the faces of four other intermediate pillars, one in each Quadrant. If they were reproduced on the faces of original intermediate pillars, they could not be reproduced, if the faces of these pillars were not plain. The inclusion of the right teminus-pillar necessitated the removal of one of the intermediate pillars from each Quadrant, and if the faces of the pillar taken out from each Quadrant were plain, it was easy to include it in the corresponding Return. What happened in fact we do not know. But from the evidence in hand we cannot but premise that the matter happened thus and not otherwise. We have already drawn the reader's attention to an instance where the half of the tail of the scene of Relic-procession that was to be sculptured on the outer face of the Barhut First Pillar has been represented separately on the outer side of a right termius pillar belonging to a separate Quadrant. No one can have any doubt about it. If the matter happened thus in one case, there is likelihood that it turned out to be so also in other cases. Not only that. Comparing the four female figures of Chūlakokā, Madhyamakokā, Sudarśanā and Kuvera's queen appearing on the four single-statue pillars, with those of Chandrā, Lotus-nymph and two Sirimā goddesses, appearing in groups and pairs on other statue pillars, we notice these two points of sculptural distinction : (1) that the latter figures invariably show a greater leanness of waist, and (2) that the former figures are uniformly characterised by a smaller and less protruding breast. Thus these differ in technique, style and mode.

35. Date of Figures on Single-Statue Pillars :—We observe that the four female figures on the four Quadrant single statue-pillars bear, so far as the size of waist and breast and general technique are concerned, a close likeness with two female figures, one a goddess and the other a Kinnari, appearing in two separate panels on the side of a Gateway lower pillar, found at Pataora. If so, we may understand that these single statue-pillars of Quadrants and the right terminus pillar

[1] Scene No. 74. [2] Scene No. 72.

bearing the representation of a part of the tail of Relic-procession were sculptured at the very same time as the First, i, e,, during the reign of Pushyamitra.

36. Remaining Quadrant Pillars :—The intermediate pillars of Quadrants other than those bearing statues on both faces, are well described by Cunningham. His description equally holds true of the single statue-pillars in respect of the faces that do not bear any statues. They are ornamented by a full medallion embossed in the middle of each face and by two half medallions, one at top and one at bottom. These medallions are filled with various designs of lotus flowers or flower compositions. Some of the full medallions, and the very few among the upper half medallions contain carvings illustrating the Birth-stories, or representing some aspects of life in nature, They are slightly bevelled on both faces, the bevelled edges themselves being ornamented with various decorative designs. But it is not true that this bevelling is a mark of distinction between these and what Cunningham calls corner pillars. In fact all the pillars are bevelled, or can be supposed to have been bevelled, except where the space is wholly occupied by the panels and statues.

37. Railing Foundation :—The underground foundation of the Great Railing consisted of a number of square blocks, on each of which rested the rough-hewn foot of a pillar. Each block, as noted by Cunningham, was laid directly on the earth[1].

38. Epigraphic evidence as to Original Pillar Form :—The study of panel-arrangement and technique of sculptured scenes and figures on some of the special pillars in Quadrants and Returns has led us to suppose a condition when the Inner Railing, like the Outer, was a simple enclosure of stone without the Returns, the right and left terminus pillars of each Quadrant bearing three statues of demigods each, and the intermediate pillars being plain or unsculptured. We have been led to presume that the Returns were added when Chāpādevi made her gift of First Pillar during the reign of Pushyamitra. Is this borne out by the evidence of inscriptions ? On each of the Railing pillars, as we now see it, is incised a votive inscription recording whose gift it was. There is not a single pillar which remains intact and does not bear an inscription of this kind. In most cases the Votive and Jātaka labels occur separately, and in some, consecutively. Each pillar bears just one votive inscription recording the gift of an individual donor. In some instances the gift is recorded in a general form as the gift of so and so, and in some, in a particular form as the piller-gift of so and so, or the gift of so and so—a pillar. The pillars, as we now have them

Stūpa of Bharhut, p, 12.

recorded, are all sculptured or ornamented. In no instance a pillar is recorded to be the gift of one donor and the sculpture that of another. Thus whether a votive inscription is worded in a general or a particular form, the implication is the same, the gift consisting of a pillar as sculptured and not of a pillar as unsculptured or plain. Are we to understand that in cases where the form is general, the intention is that both pillar and sculpture were the gift of the same donor, and in cases where the form is particular, the intention is that the pillar alone was the gift of one donor, while the sculpture was a superaddition made out of the general funds or on the strength of donation from some donor whose name is not recorded ? To hold this is to stretch the matter too far beyond ordinary comprehension. Accepting the plain meaning, we must understand that the recorded gift was of a pillar as sculptured and not of a pillar as plain. If on the strength of epigraphic evidence, taken in this sense, we take it that when these pillars were recorded to be gifts, they were sculptured in the present form, how can we hold that they were at any time plain except by supposing that they were unsculptured when they were unrecorded ? And if we do not suppose this, how can we satisfactorily account for some notable changes that took place systematically in the arrangement of pillars and the form and technique of sculptures ? Thus without doing violence to epigraphic evidence, we can presume that a plain railing with rough-hewn massive pillars was found in existence, and as each pillar or component part was sculptured, it came to be recorded as a gift, this hypothesis leaving out of account those instances where sculptured pillars were newly set up in later times. To be clear, this hypothesis leads us to conceive these three stages in the growth of the Great Railing, the third stage being reached when Chāpādevi made her gift and the Returns were added: (1) a plain railing of rough-hewn stone consisting of four Quadrants; (2) the right and left terminus pillars in each Quadrant being sculptured with three statues each and recorded as a gift ; and (3) the Returns being added necessitating certain additions and alterations among the pillars of Quadrants.

39. Rails or Rail-Bars :—These are called suchi or needles serving, as they do, as a means of needling together the pillars by being fitted into their mortices or eyelet holes. There were 228 Rail-bars in the Inner Railing including the Returns, and of these, about 80 have been found by Cunningham. The existing rails of Quadrants measure 1 foot 11¾ inches in length by 1 foot 10½ inches in breadth, with a thickness of 6 inches. Compared with the rails at Bodh-Gayā, Sānchi and Mathurā, the Barhut rails have an inferior thickness, with the result that their curved surface appears very much flatter. They have on each face a circular boss or full medallion. Most of these bosses contain various designs of lotus flowers, a few contain Jātaka-scenes, some contain representations of life in nature, one contains a figure of the goddess

Sri, and one a Buddhist Stūpa. It is the bosses in the middle row, falling in line with full medallions on pillars, that are filled with Jātaka-scenes and other interesting representations. The rails of Returns, like those of Quadrants, were generally embossed on both faces with round medallions containing various floral designs, the designs of lotus flowers. But the former were much longer owing to the wider inter-communication of the pillars, the side openings being 2½ feet and the front openings 3¼ feet wide. On two of these longer pillars we see oblong panels instead of round medallions. One of the oblong panels contains a scene of the Buddha's Jewel-walk, one a scene of his Great Decease, one a scene of the Kāliṅgabodhi-Jātaka, and one that of Viḍuḍabha's or Virūḍhaka's invasion of Kapilavāstu forming a sequel to the Dhammachetiya story of King Prasenajit's last visit to the Buddha which is depicted on the Prasenajit Pillar. Each rail, like each pillar, has a votive inscription recording the gift of some donor or donors. In many instances .the gift has been recorded simply as a gift of so and so, in some, as a rail-gift of so and so, and in some, as gift of so and so,—a rail. Cunningham offers the following explanation : "It seems probable that in the former cases the inscriptions originally ended with dānam, and that the nature of the gift was afterwards added at the request of the donor."[1] There is not a single instance where the rail is recorded to be a gift of one donor, and the sculpture that of another.

40. Change of Round Medallions to Oblong Panels :—Cunningham has tried to account for the appearance of oblong panels on some of the Return rails in place of round medallions thus : "The 19 inch round medallion which was sufficient to fill the surface of a 23-inch rail, would appear to have been considered too meagre for the decoration of the longer rail of 30 to 40 inches. The round medallion was, therefore, changed to an oblong panel, 25 inches in length, which covered the greater part of the surface".[2]

41. Chronological position of Rail-Bars :—Cunningham's explanation for the oblong shape of the panels in two Return rails does not seem to be commendable. There are a few other specimens of these rails which, though much longer than the rails of Quardrants, bear round medallions with designs of lotus flowers. The oblong shape of the panels indicates a departure from the general Barhut tradition of lotus-designs in medallions and half medallions. This departure was also made in some of the Return pillars having oblong or square panels. Just as these pillars, so these rails were rather the exception than the rule. Three scenes in three of the rail panels

[1] Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 11-12. [2] Stūpa of Bharhut p. 12.

of oblong shape are connected, in respect of subject and detail, with three scenes of the Prasenajit pillar. Comparing them, we cannot but be struck by the impoved technique and the greater ornamental finish of the former. In two cases the scenes in the rail panels represent stories forming sequel to those represented on the Prasenajit pillar. Thus it can be shown that what we see in these rail panels is nothing but a greater perfection of the pillar model. The inclusion of the rails with such panels must be taken to represent the final addition and alteration. The same remark holds true of two pillars with the arrangement for two full and two half medalllions on each of their faces. When this final repair took place we do not know, though it must have taken place after the panels of the Prasenjit pillars were carved. But there is a definite epigraphic evidence to prove that some of the rails were included in the Great Railing at the time when King Dhanabhūti erected the E. Gateway. One of the rails is recorded to be a gift of Prince Vādhapāla, the son of King Dhanabhūti,[1] and another that of Nāgarakhitā, probably the wife of the same king.[2]

42. Coping :—Cunningham says that the Coping or continuous architrave, crowning the circle of pillars, is formed of massive blocks of stone, each spanning two intercolumniations. Each block is found to be upwards of 7 feet in length, with a height of 1 foot 10½ inches, and a thickness of 1 foot 8 inches. They are secured firmly to each other by long tenons fitting into corresponding mortices; and to the tops of the pillars by a stout tenon on each, which fits a socket on the under side of the Coping stone. Some 16 blocks have been found out of the original total of 40, so that exactly three-fifths of the entire Coping is at present missing. The total length of the Coping, including the Returns at the four entrances, was 330 feet, the whole of which was most elaborately and minutely sculptured, both inside and outside. At the end of the Coping stone which faced the visitor as he approached each of the entrances there was a boldly carved lion, with a curly mane and long bushy tail, sitting on his haunches.[3] The remains of three of these lion-statues have been found. All the statues are broken, and the head of only one of them survives at present. Next to the lion, on both the inner and outer faces of the Coping, there is a kneeling elephant, from whose mouth issues a long undulating stem, which continues to the end of the Quadrant, and divides the face of the Coping by its undulation into a number of small panels, each of which is filled with sculptures. On the inner face some have flowers, and fruits, some necklaces and earrings and other personal ornaments, while the rest are

[1] Barua Sinha, No. 103. [2] Barua Sinha, No. 115. [3] Stūpa of Bharhut, Pl. XXXIX *See* Scenes No. 3, 3 (*a*).

of a full-blown lotus flower. This broad line of bas-relief, carved bold and deep, is finished on both faces by two rich borders, the lower one consisting of a continuous row of bells.[1]

43. Ornamentation in Borders:—The Quadrants and Returns show no difference as to ornamental designs in the Coping borders.[2] In the upper border on both faces, there is a continuous row of battalions under lotus-arches, and in the lower border, a continuous net of bells, hanging from the bamboo pole. On the outer face the meshes of the net are interwoven of ordinary linen thread, while on the inner face they appear to be jewelled. The net on the inner face seems to truly represent what is called ratna-kiṅkiṇi-jāla.

44. Outer line of bas-reliefs :—Between the two borders we see, on the outer face of the Quadrant coping as well as that of the coping over the corresponding Return, a uniform creeper-design (latākarma), which appears to be discontinuous when the two copings are taken to form a single whole.[3] None of the Quadrants and Returns has survived in full. The fragments that now remain clearly show two separate beginnings in the creeper-design, one in the Quadrant coping and one in the Return. In the Quadrant coping a long creeper-stem issues forth, as noticed by Cunningham, from the mouth of a kneeling elephant, and spreads forth along the ground from right to left, forming a large number of curved panels in its undulating folds. Each of these panels is filled with the same flower-composition, consisting of a full-blown lotus-flower blossoming in a lotus-shrub, which springs from each joint in the creeper. Thus the creeper itself may be taken to represent either a serpentine imaginary lotus-stalk or a crawling stem with a continuous row of lotus-shrubs with lotus leaves, buds and flowers. How this design was actually finished in the left end of each Quadrant coping we do not know. But it seems likely that on the left side, too, the creeper was represented as issuing forth from the mouth of a similarly kneeling elephant and crawling from left to right. In this manner the outer creeper-design in each Quadrant coping was treated as complete by itself. The elephants themselves were represented as wild animals, and their figures were carved stiff and formal. The outer face of the Return coping has the same creeper-design with lotus-composition. But unfortunately the figure of the kneeling elephant is missing. In all probability, it resembled in all respects the one seen on the inner face where the animal is represented as a state elephant,

Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 9-10.
Scenes Nos. 3, 8-10.
Scene No. 8.

caparisoned, well-trained, and more animated and prostrate than those in the Quadrant coping. If the Quadrant and the Return had originally formed one single whole, the creeper-designs in the copings over both would not have been discontinuous and the figures of the kneeling elephants would have been carved alike.

45. **Inner line of bas-reliefs** :—The inner face of the copings over the Quadrant[1] and the corresponding Return[2] shows similar creeper-designs between the two borders, with the same two beginnings and the same kneeling elephants as on the outer face. The lotus-composition lingers here and there in the inner creeper-designs. But here the curved panels, instead of containing the lotus shrubs and flowers, are filled with the Jātaka scenes, certain scenes other than the Jātaka, some isolated animal figures, and several bunches of fruits and flower-ornaments growing on the tendrils that spring from the creeper-joints. Among the Jātaka-scenes, all illustrate the past-anecdotes describing the achievements of the Buddha during his previous Bodhisattva career. There is only one scene which depicts the sufferings of the sinners in hell. These scenes and the bunches of fruits and flower-ornaments generally alternate each other, the former filling the upper and the latter, the under panels. In exceptional instances they overlap. In most cases the scene in one panel represents a complete Birth-story, and in a few, one story is distributed into two or more successive upper panels. In one exceptional case, the story is depicted in two distantly placed upper panels. In another case, the scene of sufferings in hell fills four successive upper and lower panels, evidently for want of space, and in each of the last three panels the scene and the bunch are combined. This particular scene is to be noticed in a Return-coping. The non-Jātaka scenes and isolated animal figures are accommodated in the upper panels, in place of the Jātaka-carvings. The former include a scene of relic-procession, representing its progress, while the scene on the First Pillar represents its termination. The scene itself is located in a coping-stone which stands over the First Pillar. There is a second representation in which two men are seen crossing a wide valley or gulph by a bridge of rope. In a third, we see two men walking one behind the other, one behind holding a hanging piece of rope, and one in front holding the same formed into a loop. It may be that one man has been represented in two positions. In a fourth, we see a herd of wild elephants ranging in an elephant-forest under a mighty leader who walks behind. The isolated animal figures include two or three leonine animals that differ, in conception as well as execution, from the majestic and life-like lions sitting on their haunches in the outer ends of

[1] Scene No. 9.
[2] Scenes Nos. 3, 10.

the Return copings. All the leonine animals figure only in the Quadrant coping panels, and stand out as a mark of distinction. The difference between the lion figures alone may suffice to prove that the Return coping was a later addition to the Quadrant. The bunches of fruits and flower-ornaments show the similarity but no identity of certain forms in grouping or combination. They may be easily classified under these ten types:—

1. Smaller mango,
2. Larger mango,
3. Glossy-skinned jack-fruit,
4. Rough-skinned jack-fruit,
5. Date-palm-like,
6. Anklet-shaped,
7. Cloth-and-chain-shaped,
8. Earring-shaped,
9. Garland-shaped,
10. Necklace-shaped.

The Triratna-symbol, the jewel-seat and the Bodhi-tree Aśvattha are present in some of these compositions. In a few instances we see the combination of two or more forms[1].

46 Original Shape of the Coping:—Scene No. 145. as we now see it, is slightly curved to suit the circumference of a semi-circle. The Great Railing crowned by this Coping appears like a covered and circular path or hall of perambulation. We have a fine representation of the latter in the scene of the Bodhi-Tree of Śākya-muni where the path or hall stands between two sets of pillars, needled by three rail-bars and supporting a curved and gabled roof. There are many other representations where, in almost all of them, the railing is composed of three rail-bars. In two instances the rail-bars are four[2], and in two, just two[3], the number varying according to the space available in a panel. These mansion-like edifices are all met with in the square and quadrangular panels of some of the special pillars in the Returns, the Prasenajit, the Ajātaśatru and the rest which were evidently of a later date. These panels also contain patterns of the pavement having the railing-structure in its composition. Here the coping appears to be an oblong-shaped block of stone with a flat roof. The First Pillar set up by Chāpādevī and the Quadrant statue-pillars of the same age do not present any pattern of the mansion but only that of the pave-

[1] Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, Pls. XL, and L—LI. See Scene No. 149.

[2] Scenes Nos. 52, 54.

[3] Scenes Nos. 39, 95 a.

ment. If the pavement were at any time the prototype of our Railing, as we believe it was, we cannot but presume that the coping was then oblong-shaped with a flat roof, and not with a curved and gabled one.

47. Birthplace of the Story-Teller :—The village of Barhut or Bharhut where the Buddhist Stūpa and Railing were built belongs, as Cunningham records, to the small state of Nagod in Baghelkhand district. It is situated six miles to the north-east of Uchahara, nine miles nearly due south of the Railway station at Sutna, and about 95 miles to the south-east of Allahabad, 120 miles according to Cunningham's estimate. It is known to be the site of an old city, which extended for 12 miles, embracing Uchahara on the north.[1] All the surrounding villages of the present day are believed to have been the several mahallas or divisions of the ancient city, the existence of which is best proved by the broken bricks and pieces of pottery found on the ground around the present village. The great trade-route which, probably in the Buddha's life-time, extended westward from Magadhapura[2] (Rājagaha, according to the Sutta-Nipāta Commentary) via Vesāli across the Ganges, and via Kusinārā, Kapilavatthu and Setavya by forming a curve or circuit, branched off somewhere at Sāvatthi into two separate routes, one, the Uttarāpatha or Northern (rather N. W.) leading to Gandhāra or Takkasilā across the desert of Rājputānā, and the other, the Dakkhiṇāpatha or Southern (rather S. W.) extending at first southward via Sāketa and Kosambi across the Yamunā to reach the jungle-tract called Vana, and then turning westward and southward to reach Patiṭṭhāna or Paithan in the Godāvari region by forming a loop via Vedisā, Gonaddha, Ujjeni and Māhissati. The places lying about the western destination of each of these two routes are said to have belonged to Aparanta ; and so far as Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII is concerned, the five Greco-Bactrian territories lying one beyond another are examples of the countries in the north-western destination of the Uttarāpatha, and Bhoja (Illichpur), Petenika (? Paithan) and Andhra, those of countries in the south-western destination of the Dakkhiṇāpatha. The village of Barhut happens to be situated just at the northern end of the long narrow valley of Mahiyar near the point where the high road from Ujain and Bhilsa to Patna turns to the north with Kosam as a notable halting place in the north, and thus it coincides very nearly with the position of the jungle-tract Vana in relation to the ancient Southern Road. Buddhaghosha, or better, the author of the Sutta-Nipāta-Commentary, knew that this jungle-tract was called by some Tumbanagara, and by others, Vana-Sāvatthi or Jungle-Srāvastī, Sāvatthi being famous

[1] Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 1—3.

[2] Sutta-Nipāta, Book V., Prologue ; Buddhist India, p. 103.

in Buddhist literature as the capital of Kosala, and no less as the ancient great centre of Buddhist activities.

48. Age :—The inscription on the E. Gateway clearly records that this stone-structure with its ornamental finish was set up by King Dhanabhūti in the dominion of the Śuṅgas. King Dhanabhūti himself is represented as the son of Āgaraju and grandson of King Viśvadeva. This inscription can be construed as meaning that when King Dhanabhūti erected this Gateway, the Śuṅgas wielded their suzerain power over an extensive empire in Āryāvarta. The fragments of two other inscriptions also go to show that two other Gateways or their ornamental arches were erected by the same king. It cannot be definitely maintained as has been done by Dr. Bühler and other scholars like Dr. Hultzsch, that King Dhanabhūti, the royal donor of the Gateways, was a feudatory of the Śuṅgas. Dhanabhūti seems to have been a king of the Mathurā region, and it has yet to be ascertained whether this region was then included in the Śuṅga empire or not. What is apparent from these inscriptions is that King Dhanabhūti was an ally of the Śuṅgas, if not exactly a feudatory. On the evidence of his inscriptions Dr. Bühler suggested 150 B. C. as the probable date of the Barhut Gateways, and indirectly that of the Barhut Inner Railing. Sir Alexander Cunningham who at first presumed an earlier date, going back to the reign of Aśoka, authorised later Dr. J. Anderson to record his opinion in favour of the date suggested by Dr. Bühler.

One of the Votive labels records a Rail-bar, included in the Inner Railing, to be a gift of Prince Vṛiddhapāla, the son of King Dhanabhūti. Another label records another such Rail-bar to be a gift of Queen Nāgarakshitā, probably the wife of the some king. There can be no doubt that these two Rail-bars were contemporaneous with the Gateways that were erected by Dhanabhūti. But we do not as yet understand how 150 B. C. can be definitely fixed as a date; or how can this date be regarded as the only date of the whole of the Barhut Inner Railing with its Quadrants and Returns, and with its Inscriptions and Sculptures. Dhanabhūti's inscriptions enable one to understand that the Gateways were erected by him 'during the reign of the Śuṅgas', and infer that the Rail-bars recorded to be gifts of his wife and son were put in at the same time. The expression 'during the reign of the Śuṅgas' is rather vague from the point of chronology seeing that the Śuṅga-reign covered about 112 years, from circa 184 to 82 B. C. The real point at issue is whether the date ascertainable from Dhanābhūti's inscriptions and records of gifts of his wife and son represents the beginning or close of the Śuṅga-reign; and the commencement or consummation of the Barhut Great Railing. Dr. Waddell rightly contends that the date

of the E. Gateway cannot be the date of the whole Railing, since this Gateway does not appear to be an original investing structure at all[1]. But his interest is not so much to fix the lower limit as the upper. Without raising any question as to 150 B. C. being the lower limit, he seems concerned to push back the upper limit to the Mauryan age, if not precisely to the time of Aśoka, thus tending to confirm in the main the views of Cunningham as he had expressed them in his Stūpa of Bharhut. M. Foucher expresses his opinion in a non-contentious, less committal and apparently more accurate form, and says . "On one of the jambs of the eastern gate, found in situ, we read, in a somewhat later script, a mention of the ephemeral suzerain dynasty of the Śuṅgas, which succeeded the Mauryas towards the year 180 B, C. ; it relates to the erection of the gate, or, to be more exact, the replacement of an old wooden model by a stone-work ; and thus we feel certain that towards the end of the second century the final touch must have been given to the decoration of the stūpa, commenced, no doubt, during the third."[2]

Dr. Waddell's contention for an earlier beginning is quite reasonable, but his grounds are faulty. M. Foucher's opinion has the merit of extending the range of chronology and placing it between the third century B. C. and the end of the second century, but it is vague as it relates to the chronological position of the whole sanctuary, beginning with the Stūpa and ending with the Toraṇa. The real questions of importance are : (1) when was the Stūpa built and by whom ? and (2) what is the relative chronology of successive stages in the growth of the Inner Railing from its rude beginning to its final form ?

As to the date and builder of the Stūpa we find that Barhut is not one of the eight places where ten mounds were built by Aiātaśatru, the king of Magadha, and others, eight for the bodily remains, one for the vessel in which the body had been burnt, and one for the embers of the funeral pyre of the Buddha, immediately after his demise. Rājagaha, Vesālī, Allakappa, Rāmagāma, Veṭhadīpa, Pāvā, Kusinārā and Pipphalivana are the places where these mounds were made. A few verses forming the epilogue of the Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta, and added, according to Buddhaghosha, by the Theras of Ceylon, seem to refer to redistribution of the relics, which took place later on, and enshrinement of the same in such places as Gandhāra and Kaliṅga.[3] The corresponding verses in the Buddhavamsa, evidently interpolated by the same agency, hint at the same fact, one of the MSS. also mentioning Simhala (Ceylon) among the countries where the mounds were built in later times.

[1] J R A S 1914, pp. 138 foll.

[2] The Beginnings of Buddhist Art, p. 34.

[3] Buddhist Suttas, S.B.E, Vol. XI, pp. 134-135.

These verses had been added before the Pāli Canon was finally rehearsed and committed to writing during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, the king of Ceylon, towards the end of the firet century B.C. Later traditions in the Pāli Chronicles and Commentaries, as well as in the Sanskrit Avadānas associate the work of redistribution of the relics with King Aśoka. These traditions also record that a tope was built by and during the reign of King Ajātaśatru to deposit in one place the relics collected by the Venerable Mahākāśyapa from all the mounds except one in Rāmagrāma. It is King Aśoka who after a careful search was able to locate the Ajātaśatru tope, and succeeded in rebuilding after reopening it and redistributing the remains deposited there. Thus the building of the Stūpa at Barhut, if it enshrined the remains of the Buddha, was not possible before this redistribution took place during the reign of Aśoka.

Was Aśoka himself the builder of the Stūpa ? In none of his edicts hitherto discovered, he claims that he was the builder of any Stūpa. He claims indeed in his Niglīva Pillar Edict that he enlarged the Stūpa of Koṇāgamana Buddha for the second time, in his 14th regnal year, and that he came there personally to honour it in the 20th year of his recorded reign. In each and all of them he evinces a keen interest in having his instructions and proclamations permanently inscribed on rocks (pavata), stoneslabs (silāphalaka), stone-boulders (silāṭhubha) and stone-pillars (silāthambha). In the Bhabru Edict he has addressed himself to the Buddhist Church. In three of his edicts inscribed on three pillars, set up in Sarnath, Kauśāmbī and Sanchi, he has proclaimed his high authority to turn out all dissentient elements in the Buddhist Church and suppress schisms. His Sarnath Pillar Edict contains statements indicative of the fact that when it was issued, there were Buddhist Churches or Missions working among peoples in countries beyond and adjoining his dominions. Sarnath, Kauśāmbī and Sanchi are places forming halting stations of Dakshṇāpatha, the Southern Trade-Route. Barhut was situated in a jungle-tract lying at the point where this route extending southward from Kauśāmbī, turned westward, leading to Sanchi. The Pāli legends attribute to him the credit of building 84,000 Vihāras and redistributing the relics amongst them. The Avadāna stories, on the other hand, tend to create an impression that King Aśoka was the builder of 84,000 Dharmarājikas or Stūpas that shone forth all over India like so many autumn-clouds and enshrined the remains of the Buddha[1]. In the Divyavādāna we read : "The king having made 84,000 boxes of gold, silver, crystal and lapis-lazuli, put the relics therein, and handed them over to the Yakshas along with 84,000 jars and the same number of plates or written records

[1] Divyāvadāna, p. 381.

(paṭṭa). He let off these daring agents, commanding them to erect a Dharmarājika in any town, insignificant, best or average, in the great earth extending as far as the seas, wherever a crore filled (the jars). It happened that at Taxila alone 36 crores (were collected), compelling the agents, according to the king's command, to part with 36 boxes. The matter was referred to the king, and the king, anxious to see the relics distributed over a larger area, ordered them to spare just one box for the place where 35 crores or more (were collected)."[1]

The difference in the two traditions cannot be removed unless it be supposed that by Vihāras were meant not the monasteries but resorts or places of pilgrimage attached to the different monasteries. The Divyavadāna story gives an account of King Aśoka's pious tour,[2] undertaken after the building of the Dharmarājikas. Under the guidance of Upagupta he visited all important places associated with the life of the Buddha, honouring each by building a sanctuary (chaitya)[3] and making a largess of money, and when the pilgrim reached Jetavana, his attention was drawn to the Stūpas built there for the remains of Śārīputra, Maudgalyāyaṇa, Mahākāśyapa, Vatkula and Ānanda. The sanctuaries built by Aśoka, such as those at Lumbinī where the Buddha was born and at Sarnath where he delivered the first sermon, have survived to the present day and are all found to be towering monoliths and nothing else.[3] If the word Vihāra be taken in its ordinary sense, one must understand that the relics were distributed among the different monasteries or saṅgharāmas, and the monks of the local monastery were the persons who sought and secured the help from princes and peoples to build the Stūpa with all its outer constructions and artistic designs. Though these monks made the plans and devised the ways and means to carry them into practice, the Stūpas were ascribed to Aśoka for the impetus given by him. If so, the Barhut Stūpa need not be supposed to have been built by King Aśoka or during his reign, the more cogent hypothesis being that the structure was built by the monks of the Barhut Church in a post-Aśokan time.

From its internal history one can easily infer that the Barhut sanctuary was not built in a day, but by successive steps, at intervals and according to opportunities. We can conceive a stage in its life when the mound was enclosed by a railing of rough-hewn stone, with four quadrants, four entrances, a square coping with certain

---

[1] Divyāvadāna, p. 381. The passage is quoted by M. Foucher in his Icon. Bouddhique, p. 55 f. n. See V. A. Smith's Asoka, p. 107.

[2] Divyāvadāna, pp. 389 foll.

[3] The king's object was to mark each spot for the good of posterity (chihnāni kāryāṃ paśchimasyāṃ janatāyām anugrahārtham). See Vincent A. Smith's Asoka, 3rd edition, Indian Legend. By Rādhya-Dharmarajikā-chaityah were meant the stūpa and one-storey monastery beside the Rādhya Pillar. Foucher's Icon. Bouddhique, p. 195).

ornamentation on its outer face, and some statues of demigods and demigoddesses on terminus pillars.

In the second stage, when the eastern terminus pillar of S. E. Quadrant was recorded to be the Barhut First Pillar and a gift of Chāpādevī, the wife of Revatīmitra, of Vidiśā, some alterations were made, as we have seen, resulting in the replacement of the right terminus pillar in each Quadrant by one connected with a Return, added at the time, and bearing a lion-statue guarding the approach, the inclusion of this pillar with one statue cut off within the Quadrant, the reproduction of the statue cut off on a face of another intermediate pillar, the curving of the Coping and its ornamentation with two borders, creeper-and-lotus-designs and Jātaka-scenes on its inner face, and the erection of two gates, probably those on the south and the north, each consisting of two plain pillars with square shafts. In this stage a few other statues of demigods and demigoddesses were carved on three out of four right terminus pillars in the Quadrants. It is also conceivable that the Copings over the Returns were of a square shape without any ornamentation, and had no other sculptures but the lion-statues in their outer ends; that some of the medallion-carvings with lotus-designs and flower-compositions appeared on some of the Quadrant Pillars and Rail-bars; and that the side or face of some of the left terminus pillars in Quadrants was as yet plain or without any statue. The artists employed hailed all from localities where Brāhmī was the current script. If Chāpādevī, the female donor of the First Pillar, were connected with a Śuṅga royal family in Vidiśā, as we believe she was, this stage must have been reached during the viceroyalty of Agnimitra. The First Pillar is sculptured with a scene of arrival of a royal procession carrying a relic-casket,[1] while a panel in the corresponding Coping-stone contains a scene of the same procession in progress.[2] The name of the king leading the procession is not mentioned. All are presumed to know it well who he was. If King Aśoka was meant here to be the leader, the Stūpa must have been well-known to the monks of Barhut as a structure built and enshrined during his reign. The rod of the standard is represented like an Aśokan pillar with a cylindrical shaft and a lotus-ornament[3].

The third stage was reached during the reign of the same Śuṅga dynasty, when king Dhanabhūti erected the Gateways. He employed some artists, who hailed

---

1 Scenes Nos. 17 (a), 17 (b)

2 Scene No. 9 (a)

3 King Aśoka in his Minor Rock Edict II (Rupnath text), desires to see his royal proclamations permanently inscribed on pavata, silā-thubha and silā-thaṃbha. By silā-thubha he meant stone-mound or mound-shaped hillock or boulder of stone, thambha being—thubha or thuba, i. e., thūpa, tope or cupola (Haragobinda Das T. Seth's Prakrit Dictionary Pāia-Sadda Mahaṇṇava, sub voce thūbha).

from a north-western region where Kharoshṭhī was the current script, to do the work. The Jambs of the E. Gateway show each a combination of four octagons and jointly support the ornamental arch containing a symbolical outline of the present life of the Buddha. The capital, lotus-ornament and crowning animal figures are distinctive features of Aśokan monoliths that still linger in these jambs representing the richest combination and final development in the Barhut style of octagonal pillars. The upper continuations of the Gateway pillars contain four examples of Persepolitan columns, bearing a clear testimony to the work done by artists from the north-west. The balusters in the arch show a synthesis of Barhut octagons and Persepolitan pillars, the upper portions including the shafts remaining loyal to the Barhut style and the lower portions or bases corresponding to the Persepolitan.[1] The figures of lions on capitals of the jambs and those on the middle architrave are evidently copied from models in the Quadrant coping and yet clearly bear traces of the influence of lion-statues in the outer ends of the Returns. In the case of two Gateways, probably ornamental arches were superimposed upon pillars with square shafts, serving later as jambs. The pieces of these pillars that now remain bear sculptures representing some stories of the present and past of the Buddha's life.[2] These sculptures must have been carved by the same artists, since the pillars of Śuddhodana's palace, represented in the scene of renunciation[3], are precisely of the same style and show the same technique as balusters in the arch of the E. Gateway. These artists must have also worked on the Great Railing, either fashioning some of the Pillars and Rail-bars, or carving new sculptures, or inserting new Pillars and Rails, in short, giving a finishing touch to the work of repair or decoration. The parts bearing evidence of their workmanship can be distinguished by the palæographic similarity of the labels inscribed there on with the inscriptions of Dhanabhūti on the Gateways. The king himself appears to have figured as a worshipper of the Bodhi on the lower architrave. The Railing pillars fashioned in the second stage can be broadly distinguished from those done in the third by battalions under lotus-arches in the upper border of upper half-medallions as contrasted with railing and other designs. Whether a little earlier or later, several sculptures must be connected with the third stage, particularly those Coping-panels, Pillar-statues and Medallion-carvings in the labels of which a special form of the Brāhmī letter for jā [𑀚𑀸] occurs,[4] and those scenes in the square and oblong panels on the Return Pillars and Rails. In three of these square and oblong

1 Scenes Nos. 18 and 19.
2 Scene No. 18
3 Scene No. 13
4 The list is given passim.

panels we see a representation of pillars reminding one of Aśokan monoliths and the sculptured scenes themselves presuppose legends referring to Aśoka's pilgrimage to Bodh. Gayā and Kuśinārā. The scenes with the labels containing the special leter for jā and one of the Return Pillar scenes with a label referring to Vidūra and Pūrṇaka illustrate three of the ten lengthy Jātakas forming the 6th volume in Fausboll's edition of the Jātaka-Commentary. The square and oblong panels contain scenes based upon legends corresponding to certain episodes in the Lalita-Vistara, as well as representations of palacial mansions. These go to standardise the octagonal pillars as a Barhut style. Even among the scenic examples of Aśokan monoliths, there is one which is distinguished by an ornamental bracket. We cannot but agree with Dr. Kramrisch in thinking that the zenith of the Barhut art was reached in the carvings on the Prasenajit Pillar and in those sculptures in the Return Rail panels that were worked up on the same model.[1]

The stage of palæography beyond Dhanabhūti's inscriptions on the Barhut Gateways is that of Brāhmī letters with mātrā, serifs or thickened tops appearing in inscriptions on the Gateways of the great Sanchi Stūpa. The stage of development beyond ornamentation and symbolism in the Barhut arches can be clearly traced in arches of the Sanchi Gateways.[2] The stage of abridgment beyond the Barhut Jātaka-scheme is represented by four separate sketches on the four Sanchi Gateways dating, according to Sir John Marshall, from 50 B. C. to the Christian era[3]. The Sanchi plastic representations begin where the Barhut sculptures end. If Tumbavana or Tubavana referred to in some of the Votive labels inscribed on the railing of the Sanchi Stūpa I, be the jungle-tract where Barhut is situated, the Stūpa at Barhut was well-known as a Buddhist sanctuary when this railing was constructed, completed or repaired.[4] The Sanchi and other Bhilsa topes enshrine the relics of some distinguished Disciples of the Buddha, including among them those who were known to have been sent to Haimavata or Himalayan region as missionaries during the reign of King Aśoka, in his 18th regnal year.[5] If it cannot be proved that all of these missionaries had predeceased King Aśoka or that the relics enshrined were deposited from time to time, these topes must be relegated to a post-Aśokan time.

[1] Discussed passim.

[2] See Plates VII-X in Foucher's Beginnings of Buddhist Art.

[3] See details in Sir John Marshall's Guide to Sanchi.

[4] This remark will hold good if tumba means a tope, and not an atabu or gourd.

[5] See inscriptions in Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes. Geiger on the importance of the Relic-casket inscriptions in the Preface to his translation of the Mahāvaṃsa, p.XIX. Cf. Buddhist India, pp. 296-301.

So far as the life-history of the Barhut Railing is concerned, we are to conceive three stages, one of which is pre-Śuṅga and two fall within the Śuṅga period. The first stage is Mauryan but not necessarily Aśokan ; it is probably post-Aśokan. The second or middle stage must be dated as early as 150 B.C., and the third or final as late as 100 B.C., half a century being sufficient, upon the whole, for the development of the Barhut plastic art from the First to the Prasenajit Pillar. The Lohapāsāda and the great Thūpa, built in Ceylon during the reign of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi and described in the Mahāvaṁsa and its Ṭīkā, are important in the history of Buddhism as an evidence of the development of art that took place just at the close of the Śuṅga-reign on the model of Barhut.

Apart from other details having their peculiar significance, the account of the Lohapāsāda is here important as indicating that the serpentine line on the Barhut Coping with lotus-blossoms and Jātaka-scenes in its undulations was meant to be a creeper (latā) and not a lotus-stalk[1] : that the nets of gems, metals, bells and lotuses, the pillars surmounted by the figures of lions, tigers and other animals and by those of the gods, and the representations of the sun, the moon and the stars were among the means of decoration.[2]

The account of carvings in the relic-chamber of the great Thūpa has here a twofold importance :

(1) as setting forth a scheme of Jātaka similar to Barhut, and

(2) as giving a general idea of the details of ornamentation and a clue to identification of the figures of various deities, demigods and demigoddesses. As to the deities, demigods and demigoddesses figuring there, we have mention[3] of

(1) four Great kings or Lokapālas represented as standing on four sides, thirty-three gods and thirty-two goddesses, thirty-two youthful goddesses with torches of gold in their hands, placed between thirty-three youthful gods, according to the Commentary ;

(2) twenty-eight Yaksha generals, and, above them, the deities with joined hands, those holding lotus and othes flowers, and those holding the jars filled with water ;

[1] Mahāvaṃsa, XXVII. 34 :—

Nānāratanapadumā tattha tattha yathārahaṃ,
Jātakāni cha tatth'eva āsuṃ soṇṇalatantare.

Dr. Geiger translates : "lotus-blossoms made of various gems were fitly placed here and there and Jātaka-tales in the same place within a festoon of gold.

[2] Mahāvaṃsa, XXVII. 27-33.

[3] Mahāvaṃsa, XXX. 89-94.

(3) the heavenly dancers, the deities playing on musical instruments, the fierce-looking deities, added in the Commentary, the deities bearing mirrors, and likewise those holding bunches of flowers ;

(4) the deities holding lotus, and various other deities—the Sun, the Moon, those bearing umbrellas and the rest as the Commentary puts it ;

(5) the deities carrying the message of Dharma (dhammahārakā) mentioned in the Commentary ;

(6) the rows of deities holding swords, and those of deities with vessels filled with fragrant oil and placed on their heads.

49. Ancestry :—It is a received opinion that from the third century B. C. onward the Buddhist sanctuary with the Stūpa in its centre was a stereotyped edifice of brick or stone, presupposing, as M. Foucher puts it,[1] the art of the architect and utilising that of the sculptor, that the mound itself was surrounded by a high barrier, at first of stone, then directly imitated in stone from its wooden prototype. No one can deny that the construction of the Great Railing and of the Gateways presupposes a wooden model. The examples of wooden architecture have already been found in the old site of Pāṭaliputra. That the work of the wood-carver preceded that of the stone-cutter in Indian art as a hypothesis which explains the disappearance of all the earlier monuments and masonry work where the material used must have been of a perishable character. The pre-eminence of the wood-carver in the field of art in earlier times is clear from the expressions in the Viśva-karmaṇa-hymns of the Rig-Veda (X. 168-69) in which the divine architect is evi dently represented as a builder in wood, it being asked—What is the tree or wood (vṛiksha, vana) out of which this universe was fashioned, or what is the plank which supports the same ? But in the absence of an actual relic of wooden construction at Barhut, it would be just a pious guess to suppose that the present Railing with its Gateways came into existence by replacing an older wooden enclosure. The famous E. Gateway erected by King Dhanabhūti with its lower pillars of four octagons each, was not preceded by a wooden gate, but rather by the gate of stone without the arch, consisting of two pillars, each of which was a four-sided upright, with sculptures belonging to the general Railing scheme. The internal history of our Kail-ing enables us to pass back from stone to stone, but there is absolutely no trace of anything older to show if stone had at all replaced wood as a building mate-rial at Barhut.

[1] The Beginnings of Buddhist Art, pp. 33-34, 65-66.

50. How the stone speaks :—In one of the Vedic hymns the poet appears to have been inspired to make the stone speak. This aspiration of his was fulfilled when stone came to be substituted for wood as art-material in Buddhist sanctuaries, when with the progress of the lapidary art the chisel of the stone-cutter was sufficiently sharpened and the hardness of stone lost its resisting power. We may fancy that the old Indian wood-carver having lost ground in his motherland, sought new fields in Further India and China, where he still maintains his prestige and high proficiency in his technical skill.

51. Language :—The language of our story-teller, precisely like that of a human being, consists of Writing, Speech and Gesture. The alphabets noting the masons' private marks and recording the inscriptions represent Writing as the first form of language. The inscription incised for recording the gifts and indexing the the Jātaka-scenes represents Speech, the second form. The Jātaka-scenes and other sculptural representations, serving as various artistic illustrations of the tale, represent Gesture, the third form.

52. Theme and Divisions :—The theme of the interesting tale our story-teller has got to tell is Indian life, civilisation and Buddhism, touching all the aspects and picturing the environments, domestic and academic, social and religious, moral and intellectual, economic and political, in which these grew up and changed. The divisions of the tale are to be conceived according to the exclusive or independent, the mixed or combined, and the special use of the means of expression.

53. Exclusive use of writing : The letters denoting masons' private marks represent the exclusive use of Writing. Four Kharoshṭhī letters, pa, sa, a and ba met with on the bases and capitals of the balusters of the ornamental arch of the E. Gateway, the first three occurring twice, serve no other earthly purpose than that of masons' marks. As Cunningham suggests, these are but initials of words denoting certain numerals, the pa of pancha (five), the sa of satta (seven), the a of aṭṭha (eight) and the ba of bārasa (twelve). The twenty-seven marks found on different parts of the great Railing consist all of Brāhmī letters. The only legitimate inference to be drawn from this difference is that the masons or craftsmen employed to erect the Gateway must have hailed from a north-western region of India where Kharoshṭhī was the prevalent form of script.

54. Mixed use of Writing :—The Brāhmī alphabet occurring in the Votive and Jātaka labels in general represents the mixed use of Writing. This alphabet consists of such vowels as a, ā, i, u. ū and e, such consonants as ka, kha,

ga; ghá cha, chha, ja, jha, ña, ṭa, ṭha, ḍa, ḍha, ṇa, ta, tha, da, dha, na, pa, pha, ba, bha, ma, ya, ra, la, va, sa, ha, such conjoint consonants as kra, dra, nha, bra, mha and hma, and such signs as for the vowels ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, o, au, and ṁ.

The development of this alphabet is to be traced within half a century from the middle of the second century B. C. Though the labels were inscribed by different engravers, including those who were habituated to writing the Kharoshṭhī alphabet, certain trends of development in the forms of letters can easily be detected. As compared with the general system of Aśokan alphabet one may observe that what were exceptions in the Aśokan have tended here to become the rule.

In the Aśokan system the vowel a is generally represented by a vertical intersected in the middle by the angle of the two arms ( ) Here the system is at once conspicuous by the absence of this form, and one has instead a • form in which the angle just meets the vertical in the middle precisely as in the Roman k (inverted). This form is rarely met with in the Aśokan system. But this again marks just the starting point of a process of formation culminating by steps in a remarkable form in which the two arms meet the vertical leaving a space between them ( ).

In the Aśokan system ka makes a perfect plus sign with the vertical and horizontal strokes of equal length (+). Here, too, in the majority of cases the form is the same. But starting from this one has to trace a process that ultimately yields a form in which the lower part of the vertical stroke has tended to become elongated giving the letter the shape of a hanging sword ( ).

In the Aśokan system both ga ( ) and ta ( ) go to make a sharp angle. Here the self-same form marks the first stage starting from which one may at last come across a form in which the apex of the angle has tended to become rounded by degrees giving the letter the shape of the Roman (U) inverted ( )( ).

In the Aśokan system chha is formed by a circle bisected by a vertical stroke ( ) Here starting from this very form one may reach imperceptibly another in which the letter has come to represent what Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda would call a butterfly type( ).

In the Aśokan system bha has a form in which two separate vertical strokes meet the horizontal from two sides, leaving a space between them( ), while here the general tendency is to merge the two strokes in a single vertical line ( ). And

starting from this very form one meet at last with a type in which the lower part of the vertical line has tended to become elongated ( ).

In the Aśokan system ra is generally represented by an ornamental cork-screw type ( ), and it is only in an irregular type that it approaches a straight line (I). Here, curiously enough, the irregular has become the regular type and the regular, irregular, the general Aśokan form being met with in just two rare instances, namely, in the kra ( ) of ūkramti and the dra ( ) of Jethabhadra.

In the Aśokan system the common type of ha has a small horizontal line attached to the right shorter arm, a little below its top ( ). In the other type the short horizontal line is attached to the top of the shorter arm ( ). The second type makes here the exclusive type.

Without multiplying instances it may be noticed that here the system still keeps to the Aśokan and differs from the later system in so far as none of the letters has yet a straight base.[1]

55. Special use of Writing :—Some of the special letters occurring in the inscriptions attached to a certain number of sculptured scenes and figures represent the special use of Writing. These enable one to detect and classify the carvings done by different sculptors or groups of artists. One of them is a special form of jā consisting of a jā with a vowel sign for ā in the upper half ( ) or with two vowel signs for ā ( ). This occurs in the following labels attached to the scenes and figures mentioned against them :—

(a) Haṁsa-Jātakaṁ, Return Coping-panel, Scene No. 91.
(b) Kinara-Jātakaṁ, ,, ,, ,, ,, No. 125.
(c) Rājā Pasenaji Kosalo, Return Pillar-Panel, Scene No. 52.
(d) Erāpato Nāgarājā, ,, ,, ,, ,, No. 69.
(e) Nāga-Jātakaṁ, Quadrant ,, ,, ,, No. 107.
(f) Miga-Jātakaṁ, ,, ,, ,, ,, No. 126.
(g) Chhadaṁtiya-Jātakaṁ, ,, ,, ,, ,, No. 128.
(h) Isisiṁgiya-Jātakaṁ, ,, ,, ,, ,, No. 131.
(i) Yavamajhakiya-Jātakaṁ, ,, ,, ,, ,, No. 137.
(j) Chakavāko Nāgarājā, ,, ,, Statue ,, No. 70.

The second is a special form of chha representing a butterfly type with two loops. This occurs in the following inscriptions, all of which are attached to

1 For detailed study vide Barua and Sinha's Barhut Inscriptions, pp. 101—112.

two connected scenes sculptured on the outer side of the same Return terminus pillar, viz., the Presenajit :—

(a) Chha Kāmāvachharasahasāni, Scene No. 33.

(b) Alambusā achharā, Misakosi achharā, Padumāvati achharā, Subhadā achharā, } Scene No. 34.

Similarly it can be shown that among the artists who carved the Jātaka-scenes in the Quadrant Coping-panels, there were some who hailed from a region where the anchor-shaped ya (⅄) was in use, while the others from those parts of India where the common Barhut type (⊥) was prevalent.

56. Exclusive use of Speech :—The Votive labels incised on the Railing and Gateways represent the exclusive use of Speech. These are made use of for acknowledging as well as commemorating the gifts or donations received from different donors. The receipts are legibly inscribed precisely on those parts for which the contributions were made. With the exception of the Coping, the remaining component parts, including the Gateways or ornamented arches, are actually mentioned in some of the labels, the Gateways invariably,[1] and the Pillars[2] and Rail-bars[3] occasionally. The following examples will make the point clear :—

(a) As found on the lower pillar of E. Gateway : —

"Within the dominion of the Śuṅgas the gateway has been caused to be made and the workmanship in stone produced by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti, the son of 'Gotiputa Āgaraju' and grandson of King Gārgīputra Viśvadeva."

(b) As found on the Railing pillars and Rail-bars.—

"The gift of Phalgudeva from Vidiśā."

"The pillar-gift of the Noble Master Panthaka."

"The gift of Dharmagupta—a pillar."

"The gift of Ghoshā."

"The rail-gift of Ṛishirakshita."

"The gift of Saṅghila—a rail-bar."

The very opening words of the acknowledgments on the Gateway-pillars indicate the location of the Railing, that it was situated within the dominion of the Śuṅgas, who came into power about the middle of the 2nd century B. C., and held sway over northern India with their capital at Pāṭaliputra or Patna. The name of

[1] Barua Sinha, Nos. 1-3.

[2] Barua Sinha, Nos. 4-48a

[3] Barua Sinha, Nos. 49-117.

King Dhanabhūti, the donor of the Gateway or ornamented arches, has been mentioned along with those of his parents and grand-parents, his grandfather Viśvadeva being referred to as a king. This goes to show that this royal dynasty was in power for upwards of two generations. There is one acknowledgment on a Rail-bar[1] stating that it was a gift of Prince Vādhapāla or Vṛiddhapāla, the son of King Dhanabhūti, and there is another[2] recording one of the Rail-bars to be a gift of Nāgarakshitā, probably the wife of the same king. This is a clear evidence to prove that some of the Rail-bars were set in the Railing at the time when King Dhanabhūti erected the Gateways or at least the ornamental arches. Just a generation after, Dhanabhūti's grandson, King Dhanabhūti II, dedicated, evidently following the tradition of his predecessors, the gift of a Buddhist gateway at Mathurā, which enables one to surmise that this royal dynasty continued to be in power for some generations after Dhanabhūti I, and that its seat of power was in Mathurā or a country near about. From the inscriptions it is not at all clear or conclusive that the kings of this dynasty were feudatories to the Śuṅgas. That which is clear and conclusive is that some of them, if not all, were Buddhists, or, at all events, active supporters of the Buddhist faith. In Dhanabhūti's dedicatory inscriptions the kings have been distinguished by certain matronymics, the son by Queen Gārgī, and so forth, their mothers being called by some notable gotras or families of culture, viz., Gārgi, of Garga ; Goti, of Gota , Vātsī of Vatsa. Dr. Bühler rightly observes that the use of matronymics as distinctive epithets only proves the prevalence of polygamy in Hindu society, particularly among the kings and princes.

There is no reason to doubt that the Railing with Gateways owed its existence to and reached its completion under the fostering care of Buddhist monks and nuns of the local Saṅghārāma, the traces of which lingered in the midst of the ruins of the Stūpa. The early existence of this monastery is evident from one of the Votive inscriptions recording, as it seems, the gift of a nun of the local monastic abode—Avāsikāya bhikhuniyā dānam.[3] The Buddhist teachers of this monastery must have been persons well-known, honoured and trusted throughout the country. One can presume that it is by the influence of this holy body of trustees that several gifts in the shape of donations and materials flowed in from the four quarters, from the monks and nuns, all of whom were Buddhists, the Buddhist laity consisting of both men and women, the princes and artisans, and other persons, as well as collective bodies of wealthy

[1] Barua Sinha, No. 103.
[2] Barua Sinha, No. 115.
[3] Barua Sinha, Nos. 29, 125.

citizens. Among the localities of the donors, those which were of importance and can now be identified comprise Pāṭaliputra (Patna) in the extreme north-east, Kauśāmbī (Kosam) on the Yamunā in the extreme north, Chekula (Caul near Bombay), Karahakaṭa (Karhad in Sattara District), and the port of Śrīputra in the extreme south-west, and Purikā, Bhogavardhana, Nāsika and Paḍela (Pandaria in Bilaspur District). The places to the south of the Narmadā were included in the kingdom of the Andhra rulers of the Deccan. It is under the patronage of the successors of these rulers, namely, the Sātavāhanas, that the Buddhist Saṅghārāmas at Nasik and Sanchi, belonging to different Buddhist sects, were maintained. There are also places, such as Bhojakaṭa (in Vidarbha, Berar), Asitamasā, Paḍela (Pandaria in Bilaspur district) and the rest, which were evidently included in the region to the north of the Vindhya mountain.[1] Omitting Pāṭaliputra in the north-east and Mathurā in the south-west, the remaining localities were situated within the regions now covered by Bombay Presidency and Central Province. Seeing that no place of the Punjab is mentioned, one may be led to imagine that this region was then under the sway of some rival power, unfriendly towards the cause espoused by the Buddhist teachers at Barhut. It may not be impossible that the political supremacy was at the time contested by these three rival powers. viz., the Śuṅgas of the north-east, the Andhras of the south and the Bactrain Greeks or Scythian hordes of the north-west.

From this list of places one can form an idea of the wider extension of Buddhism in India during the period when the Barhut Stūpa was built and its Railings and Gateways were erected. Buddhism was no longer a local movement of the central region in the north, but spread, far and wide, reaching as far as the western coast in Bombay, and reached, after crossing the Vindhya range as far south as the Godāvarī and Narmadā regions. One cannot expect such a state of things as this before the reign of Aśoka. In reality, one must ascribe this wider propagation of the religion to the missionary organisation of the Buddhist emperor, the liberal state-support given by him to the Buddhist movement and other efforts, too well-known to be discussed at length.

The reader must have followed the trend of the tale far enough to be able to realise that the erection of the Buddhist shrine with all its ornamental designs, carved bold and deep, was after all a most costly affair. The Buddhist Chronicles, particularly those of Ceylon, tell us that King Aśoka had to call upon all his subjects and subordinate potentates to raise money for the erection of 84,000 Buddhist edifices, while the Buddhist legends of India

Barua Sinha, Notes on localities, pp. 125 foll.

go to show that, in spite of all voluntary or compulsory contributions, the king had to exhaust his imperial treasury for the purpose. There is an inscription recording the amount required for the simple purchase of Prince Jeta's garden near Śrāvastī, ultimately converted into the site of a Buddhist monastery. It says that the Buddhist Banker Anāthapiṇḍika had to pay to the owner of the park crores (of gold pieces) in cash.[1] Even leaving a fair margin foi exaggerations, the fact stands out that the construction of a Buddhist edifice such as the Barhut Stūpa with its railing and gateways was not an easy affair, within the reach of one generation, of one or two men, however rich.

Now the question arises—by what method or methods the donations were collected. The Votive labels afford instances where the Buddhist dāyakas of Purikā collectively offered a donation. It cannot be supposed that all of them happened to visit Barhut at the same time. There must have been some local agent or some one sent from Barhut to raise subscriptions. The same holds true of another case where the citizens of a town made a gift.[2] In this latter case, one cannot suppose that all the donors were Buddhists. There is a third instance where two ladies of the same family and a gentleman, certainly related to them, made these gifts, consecutively recorded. All of them hailed from Pāṭaliputra. From the manner of description it is clear that the ladies came to the place on pilgrimage under the escort of the man.[3] The rows of recesses for lights at the base of the Stūpa bear evidence of an elaborate arrangement for illumination. One must, indeed, presume that fairs, festivals, illuminations and other religious demonstrations helped the monks to attract annually a large number of pilgrims and heighten the importance of the place.

But is it not strange that the monks and nuns, who are supposed not to touch money, are included among the donors? If they had no savings of their own, how could they make these contributions? It is difficult to surmise anything positively on this point, though the traditions of the time make it clear that much controversy was then going on in Buddhist churches about the legality of handling and hoarding money by the members of the Buddhist religious order.

By the 2nd or 1st century B. C., the history of Buddhism had far outgrown its two earlier stages, namely, that represented by the career of the Master, and that by the career of the Apostles. That is to say, it reached the third stage marked by

---

[1] Barua Sinha, No. 161.

[2] Karahakaṭa-nigamasa danaṁ.

[3] Pāṭaliputā Nāgasenāya Koḍiyāniyā dānaṃ.
Pāṭaliputā Koḍiyāniyā Sakaṭadevāya dānaṃ.
Pāṭaliputā Mahidasenasa dānaṃ.

development of the Churches. Not only that. It is in a position to say that the Saṅghārāmas of the different Buddhist churches, like the Christian monasteries in Europe during the Middle Ages, became centres of religious education and polite learning. So far as India is concerned, these educational institutions were liberally supported by the people, irrespective of castes and creeds. The erection of stūpas, railings and gateways served only to create an artistic atmosphere. Please note the personnel of each church. It consisted, as appears from the list of its donors, of monks, nuns and dāyakas. Note that the dāyakas are no mere upāsakas and upāsikās, that is, mere admirers and occasional supporters of the new movement. Mark that some of them have adopted or retained Buddhistic names, e. g., Stūpadāsa, Bodhi, Bodhigupta, Buddharakshita, Dharmarakshita[1] Dharmagupta, Saṅgharakshita, Saṅghamitra, and the like. See that such prefixes as Bhadanta, Gentle Sir, Ārya, Noble Master, and Bhadanta-Ārya, Gentle and Noble Master, have been freely used to denote church-dignitaries. Observe that the nuns are simply[2] referred to as "Bhikhunis" or "Bhichunis," which is not the case in all of the labels elsewhere. One can easily guess if they were not accorded an inferior position in the particular church connected with the Barhut tradition.

Some or most of the names of monks and nuns go to show that on being ordained they were given Buddhistic names replacing those given by their parents. This was in practice a departure from the older tradition where Buddha's followers retained their quondam names, such as Rāhula, Ānanda, Śāriputra and Vāgīsa. Though, in theory, it was a more logical carrying out of the Master's wish to organise an ideal order, ignoring the previous social names and ranks, bonds and ties[3], it was at the same time an adaptation to the Brahmanist conception of a second birth, having at its back a natural analogy from bird-life. Now the distinctive epithets have a peculiar message of their own. The fact that the laics are distinguished as dāyakas is a clear evidence that they were kept outside the pale of the Buddhist Saṅgha, while according to the Buddha's own idea, a Bhikshu or a householder, who mastered certain stages of sanctification to be called Ārya, was ipso facto a constituent of the Saṅgha and not simply one formally ordained. Among the Bhikshus, there were some bearing the epithet Navakarmika, a church-functionary, whose business it was to supervise the construction of a new Buddhist edifice or monument. There were among the laity some employed as church-functionaries in a monastery, such a Bhattodeśaka, whose business it was to distribute food. There were among the monks, the Bhāṇakas or Reciters who rehearsed, got by heart, and orally

[1] Barua Sinha, Notes on names, pp. 120 foll. [2] Baruas Sinha, No. 5. [3] Aṅguttara Nikāya, IV. p. 202.

handed down the traditions of the Buddhists. The schools of such Bhāṇakas, as appears from Buddhaghosha's account, arose soon after the Buddha's demise. The institution of these bodies of Reciters survived till the time of the construction of our railing, which means that the Buddhist texts were not till then committed to writing.[1] There were also among the monks, the Peṭakis who knew the Piṭaka by heart, as well as the Sautrāntikas, well-versed in the Sūtras. Even among the laity there were persons who bore the epithet Pañchanaikāyika, the Master of the Five Nikāyas.[2]

The term Piṭaka wherefrom Peṭaki was derived is suggestive of a double metaphor of a basket for carrying earth from head to head, that is, from teacher to teacher, and of a pit or box, where the whole thing is deposited or closed. The biological expression Nikāya, as applied to literature, denotes a distinct division or body having an independent identity. These epithets are a clear evidence of the fact that a Buddhist Canon with its division into Piṭakas and five Nikāyas was well-known in the 2nd or 1st century B. C. Seeing that Nikāya is not used in this sense by any other Buddhist sect than Sthaviravāda, one need not be surprised that the Barhut donor with the scriptural epithet Paṁchanekāyika belonged to this sect. How could it be that even the laics were repositories of textual traditions ? The best explanation is that they were persons who reverted to household-life from the monasteries, retaining their knowledge of the texts, as well as their monastic names. Such cases are not unknown even among the Buddhists of to-day.

The facts supplied by our railing are not adequate to give one an idea of the social condition of the Buddhist laity. It is difficult to say if there was at the time any Indian Buddhist community or caste, within which interdining and intermarriage were confined, though there were beginnings of such social processes, particularly where the whole tribe or the whole population of a place professed the religion. Along with these social processes there was a national process of identification of men's existence with a place. So and So—the Selapuraka,—the man of Śailapura, So and So—the Therākūṭiya, the man of Sthavirakūṭa, and so forth. The personal names of the donors clearly show that Deva, Datta, Sena, Gupta, Mitra, Rakshita, and Pālita are not used yet as surnames. These are parts of so many compounds. It is very curious that the Barhut set of names is now conspicuous by its absence among the members of Brahmin caste. It is still more curious that in Bengal the Hindu castes where Deva, Rakshita, Pālita and the like are current as surnames have a much lower social status at the present day. Thus even behind these names and surnames one gets the scent of sectarian narrowness. Stūpadāsa is

[1] Barua Sinha, No. 18. [2] Buddhist India, p. 167. Barua Sinha, Nos. 18, 39, 91, 101.

the single name where we trace the distinct influence of shrine-worship in popular Buddhism, and a clear trace of the Bhāgavatic spirit. Most of the names, other than those connected with religion or religious personages and orders, are yet of astrological or astronomical import, Revatīmitra, Bharaṇīdeva, Pushyā, Śravaṇā, and the like. Here Revatī, Bharaṇī, Pushyā, and the rest are names of important constellations of stars.[1]

57. Mixed use of Speech :—The inscriptions attached to the sculptured scenes and figures represent the mixed use of Speech. A fairly large number of these inscriptions serve as labels for the artistic illustrations of the tale. Here the labels constitute a distinctive feature of the Barhut representations. For, strangely enough, all the later Buddhist sculptures and frescoes, such as those found at Bodh Gayā, Sāñchi, Mathurā, Taxila, Amarāvatī, Sarnath, Karle and Ajantā, stand without them. On the other hand, the old system of indexing the Jātaka-carvings by appropriate labels was faithfully adhered to and has continued to operate in such Buddhist countries as Ceylon and Burma. For instance, the illustrated Jātaka-episodes around the different ancient Pagodas in Pagan are carefully indexed by labels, each of which is expressive of the nature of the theme. At Barhut some of the Jātaka-scenes and the statues of the demi-gods and demi-goddesses are inscribed, and some are not. Some of the labels accurately describe the subjects of illustrations, some refer to the actions, some to the individual actors, some to the places of actions, and some to the notable points in the artistic designs. In short, the labels are far from being used consistently and systematically. What is the reasonable explanation for this ? One might suggest that the carvings were labelled when the legends and deities were not sufficiently familiar to be recognised from their sculptural representations and these ceased to be labelled when the legends and deities became sufficiently familiar. But the Barhut examples do not enable us to say that the sculpture which was less intelligible was only inscribed, and that which was easily intelligible was not so. The Barhut artists were not very judicious in their use of the labels. For in the same row of Coping-panels one finds that if a scene in one panel is inscribed, the one in the next panel is not so. And yet in reviewing the sculptures in the lump one is apt to feel that in theory all were intended to be labelled, the omissions being due to oversight or negligence on the part of the artists. Thus if the Barhut examples are worth for anything, they serve to indicate a transitional stage when the practice of labelling the sculptures became optional. Unfortunately, we have no

[1] Some other points of interest are dealt with by Dr. Buhler in Epigraphia Indica, vol. II, Sāñchi Stūpa Inscriptions, pp. 95-96, and by Dr. H. Hilka in his book on Indian Personal names.

older remains of Indian plastic art to convince us of the fact that in an earlier stage the labelling of the sculptures and statues was the universal practice. One of the Kalsi stones bearing a particular version of Aśoka's XIth Rock Edict was sculptured with the figure of an elephant which has a short label Gajatame (The Noblest Elephant) incised under it[1]. This figure, as suggested by Dr. Bühler, represents the Buddha who descended, according to Buddhist legends, into his mother's womb in the guise of a white elephant, the noblest of his race. There are two other elephant figures, one on the Girnar rock[2] and the other on the Dhauli[3], both bearing similar inscriptions, the one on the Dhauli rock bearing the label Seto (The white Elephant). There is another earlier example, found at the ancient site of Pāṭaliputra, where a human statue is inscribed with a label. But these are isolated examples of inscribed statues, too few to indicate the characteristic tendency of an age. And if they prove anything, it is no more than the fact that the statues only were invariably inscribed.

58. Special use of Speech :—The wording of the inscriptions, Votive and Jātaka, represents the special use of Speech. The orthography of the inscriptions on the Gateway pillars differs in some essential points from that of the main bulk of inscriptions on the Railing. In the former the dental nasal (n) is replaced by the cerebral (ṇ), and in the latter the cerebral is replaced by the dental. In the former orthography one comes across the use of the dipthong (au), e.g., pauṭeṇa. The predilection for the cerebral nasal argues a closer connection of the dialect of the Gateway labels with the Jaina Prakrit which, as will be evident from a large body of inscriptions, influenced the dialects of the Mathurā region. The same can be inferred from the text of another inscription incised in the time of King Dhanabhūti, whose inscriptions occur on the Gateway pillars. In this inscription the name of Dhanabhūti's son has been recorded as Vādhapāla, Vādha corresponding to Vṛiddha. Vādha or Vadha as an equivalent of Vṛiddha is also used in the Hāthigumphā inscription of the Jaina king Khāravela. The Pāli, too, has Vaddha for Vṛddha. But this is met with only as an archaic form and older Prakrit survival in the gāthās or verses, the standard Pāli form, as used in prose, being Vuḍḍha. The grammatical peculiarities and phonetic changes enable one to detect in the Barhut inscriptions a monumental Prakrit with a marked tendency to conform to the Pāli diction.[4] The texts of the Jātaka labels go to show that the scriptural source of the Barhut artists was not in all cases the Pāli but one of mixed character, with

[1] Epigraphia Indica, Vol. II, p. 460 ; Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I, p. 50. [2] Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I, p. 26. [3] Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I, p. 92. [4] Barua Sinha, Notes, pp. 112—119.

the predominance of the Pāli elements. These presuppose, upon the whole, an independent selection of legends and episodes that were derived mainly from a source like the Pāli, while of the remaining legends and episodes, some can be traced now only in the Lalita-Vistara, some in the Mahāvastu, some only in the Avadānaśataka, some only in the Jātakamālā, some only in the Divyāvadāna and Avadānakalpalatā, and some quite peculiar to the Barhut authority. A few examples will suffice :—

(a) Bhagavato Vesabhuno Bodhi Sālo [Barhut].
Vessabhussa bhagavato Sālarukkho Bodhi [Jātaka-Commentary].

(b) Idasālaguhā [Barhut].
Sakkapañhasamāgamo Indasālaguhāyaṁ [Milinda-Pañha].

(c) Bhagavato chūḍāmaho [Barhut].
Deveshu chūḍāmaho [Lalita-Vistara].

(d) Tirami timigila-kuchimha Vasuguto māchito [Barhut].
Baṇijaḥ [timiṅgila-] mahāgrāhamukhād vinirmuktaṁ...tīram anuprāptam [Divyāvadāna].

(e) Atanā marata [Barhut].
Attanā marantā [Dhammapada-Commentary].

(f) Sechha-Jātaka [Barhut].
Dubhiyamakkaṭa-Jātaka [Jātaka-Commentary].

(g) Migasamadaka-chetaya [Barhut].
Vyaggha-Jātaka [Jātaka-Commentary].

The same can be inferred from the grammatical inflexions and phonetic variations, e. g., Vipasino (Barhut), Vipassissa (Pāli), Vipaśyino (Divyāvadāna), Vipaśyine (Mahāvastu) ; Konāgamenasa (Barhut), Koṇāgamanassa (Pali), Kaṇakamunisya (Mahāvastu), Kaṇakamuneḥ (Divyāvadāna) ; Vesabhuno (Barhut), Vessabhussa (Pāli), Viśvabhuvaḥ (Divyāvadāna and Mahāvastu).

There are some instances where the labels were worded at the suggestion of the donors, some where these were worded according to suggestions from some Buddhist teachers who supervised the work of the artists, and some where the artists themselves framed the texts according to their own caprice or discretion.

59. Mixed use of Gesture :—The artistic representations, accompanied by inscribed labels, represent the mixed use of Gesture. These consist mostly of carvings or bas-reliefs depicting various scenes from the Buddha's life. These illustrated scenes, so far as they can be identified partly with the aid of the labels, unfold a definite and comprehensive scheme of the life of the Buddha Śākyamuni,

comprising the selected stories of the present (pachchuppannavatthu) and those of the past (atītavatthu), and preventing reduplication. The scenes and stories forming the biographical scheme are introduced only by way of illustration of the Buddhist doctrine inculcating the equality of all the Buddhas, the implication being that the incidents of the life of any one Buddha are virtually the same as those of any other Buddha. Thus it will appear that the biographical scheme is subservient to the doctrinal.

(I) The first group of scenes relating to the doctrinal scheme comprises the separate representations of Bodhi-Trees of the seven Buddhas, one of them being missing. The labels attached to these representations, including the missing one referring to the Bodhi-Tree of the Buddha Śikhī, are as follows :—

"The Bodhi of the Divine Master Vipaśchit."
["The Bodhi of the Divine Master Śikhī."]
"Śāla—the Bodhi of the Divine Master Viśvabhṛit."
"The Bodhi of the Divine Master Kakutsandha."
"The Bodhi of the Divine Master Koṇāgamana."
"The Bodhi of the Divine Master Kāśyapa."
"The Bodhi of the Divine Master Śākyamuui."[1]

Each of these representations contains a special scene of worship and perambulation on the historic spot of the enlightenment of a Buddha, the living memory of which is hallowed by the presence of a cubical jewel-seat of stone, called Bodhimaṇḍa or Vajrāsana and that of a Bodhi-Tree, Pāṭali, Puṇḍarīka, Śāla, Śirisha, Udumbara, Nyagrodha or Aśvattha, with flower-garlands hanging from its branches and joints, bunches of fruits or flowers adorning its well-shaped foliage, and umbrellas serving as canopies at the top. The seat is a representation of the one upon which a Buddha was seated cross-legged and in the same calm posture, overcame all overwhelming forces of external nature, all pinching privations of the body, all immoral tendencies of the internal nature, all tormenting passions of the heart, all inborn predilections of the mind, all stubborn obtuseness of the intellect, and all deep-rooted influences of the tradition, and ultimately saw the light and obtained the bliss. The tree is a representation of the one at the foot of or under which a Buddha became a Buddha[2]. The seat of stone is symbolical of the firmness of the will to do or die, to conquer and transcend. Its cubical shape is reminiscent of the Vedic altar which was a geometrical representation of the four-sided earth as known to the ancients. The jewel-ornament distinguishes it as a work of art from

[1] Scenes Nos. 26-32. [2] Yassa mūle yassa rukkhassa heṭṭhā, Sumaṅgala—Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed., II. p. 13.

the ordinary cubical heap of earth attached to a woodland-shrine. The tree is the one which is associated in the popular superstition with demoniac possession (yaksha-parigraha) and spirit-haunting (devatādhivāsa). The flower-garlands replace the pieces of linen thread tied round or suspended from the tree as the sign of promise for making offerings on the fulfilment of wishes. The offerings consist of flowers and fruits as distinguished from the bloody sacrifices, including the slaughter of human beings and staining the sacred altar. The umbrellas indicate the royal majesty of the tree which reigns on the spot as the very lord of the forest. The well-shaped foliage and shady bower of the trim-boughed tree are indicative of the greatness of the Buddha and his religion as the true shelter or refuge for the afflicted humanity and other beings. The scene of worship is enlivened by the aroma of celestial fragrance and the presence of the heavenly beings. Here is a joyous situation in the midst of serene calm, where earth and heaven, gods and men, kings and peasants, men and women, and the high and the low meet, pay homage and participate in a common worship. The worshippers have a noble demeanour and a calm disposition. They are gently dressed, their behaviour is courtier-like, and their kneeling attitude and mode of salutation are heroic or warrior-like. The element of fear or the love of gain inducing the common people to make offerings is sought to be dispensed with by creating a changed situation and a new historical association where the usurping demons and the indwelling spirits themselves are busy protecting the sanctuary consecrating the treasured memory of the highest human triumph. The spot is the very navel of the earth,—the greatest centre of human attraction which is well-protected[1] by the kings with walls, towers and ramparts, and marked with a monumental stone-pillar. The sanctuary is technically a Pāribhogika-chetiya, enshrining as it does the things actually enjoyed or used by a Buddha, and are, therefore, inseparably associated with his life and memory. The seat is vacant because the enshrinement is merely that of an historical association, which is not a material thing or a corporeal embodiment. The worship, introduced just to meet the urgent popular demand, is yet based upon an earlier injunction occurring, for instance, in the introductory discourse and anecdote of the Kāliṅgabodhi-Jātaka (F. 479). In later times the Buddha-image appeared indeed enshrined on the earlier vacant throne, and conceding to the similar popular demand for a concrete form for worship. The concession was made, though the enshrined image was not at all meant to stand as a bust or statue but only as an object of reference (uddesika), created by imagination (manamattaka), an ideal form having no positive background

Scene No. 50.

(avatthuka), the art making the human shape just a mode of the mind's expression. In the Barhut representations the exalted mode of religious homage is based upon that hero-worship which is the most primitive and universal element in all religions. Each representation is theoretically intended to depict a scene of enlightenment marking the great turning point in the life of a noble ascetic aspiring and striving for the Buddhahood and supreme leadership. But it must appear from the presence of the Triratna and Dharmachakra symbols in some of the representations that here the Bodhi Tree and Throne symbolise the whole life and career of a Buddha. The Barhut representations are evidently based upon the legends of the seven Buddhas in the Mahāpadāna Discourse; while the aspects of worship presuppose an earlier Discourse like the Mahā-āṭānāṭiya. The Mahāpadāna Discourse inculcates a doctrine, called Buddhuppāda-dhammatā, which teaches that the evolution of the Buddha types of human personality is the outcome of a natural process, reducible into a determinate causal order or reality. This doctrinal scheme with some of the biographical details is set forth in this famous Suttanta of the Dīgha-Nikāya. The wording of the labels, however, shows that the Barhut scenes are based upon a later Jātaka-tradition, holding fast to the Mahāpadāna legends of the seven Buddhas and at the same time approaching the multiplied legends in the Jātaka-Commentary. The Barhut scenes, tested in the light of the Mahāpadāna Discourse, are yet in a stage when the lives of the previous Buddhas are not linked together by the chain of existences running through the Bodhisattva-career of Sākyamuni. The epithet Bhagavā, rendered Divine Master, is resplendent with the Bhāgavatic idea of divinity. The Bodhi-Tree of Śākyamuni, the last of the seven Buddhas, is made a subject of the most elaborate representation, perhaps in accordance with the bold claim of Śāriputra for the greatness of his Master among all the Buddhas.[1] It is here that the spot is marked with a stone-pillar with a round shaft and a lotus-ornament at the capital, crowned by an animal figure, the standing figure of an elephant carrying a garland. This pillar at once reminds one of Aśoka who is said to have visited all the important Buddhist holy places and set up isolated monoliths, one on each spot, some of them being crowned by figures of animals. The legend presupposed by the Barhut scene is inexplicable without reference to the fact of Aśoka's pilgrimage to Budh Gaya. As for the earlier Mahāpadāna outlines of the Buddha's lives, the Bodhi-Trees are nothing but incidental references, while in the Barhut scenes they become the most prominent objects, receiving all the honour and homage due to the Buddhas. The labels, apart from the traditional explanation,

---

[1] Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta, Chap. I.

identify bodhi or enlightenment with each of the trees. In the Mahāpadāna-Commentary and other later works the glory of the trees engages a lengthy poetical description. Thus the Barhut scenes well indicate how the interest is transferred from the fact to the symbol, and how the honour of the symbol, apart from the Buddhist explanation accompanying it, might pass back and dwindle into the primitive tree and spirit worship which is at the back of rank idolatry and uneliminable factor in popular cults.[1]

(2-3) In the second group of scenes belonging to the biographical scheme one must, first of all, note two connected scenes[2] occupying the two panels on the outer face of the same Prasenajit Pillar. The representation in the upper panel contains a scene of supplication of various deities, gods and demigods, technically called Devatā-āyāchana, addressed to the Bodhisattva, now a dweller of the heaven Tushita, beseeching him to be born among men and open the gate of immortality. The scene is laid in a celestial grove marked by the presence of the heavenly trees. The supplicating deities, gently and uniformly dressed, stand with joined hands in four groups and two rows, in a perfect order. The following three labels that now survive indicate the position of three groups.—

"The deities of Pure Abodes on the eastern side."
"The three classes of all-pervading deities on the northern side."
"The six thousand gods of the six heavens of lust on the southern side."

All remain in the same standing posture, in a reverential but dignified attitude, each looking in front, none wistfully looking at the Bodhisattva, though all are actually waiting upon him. The Bodhisattva is seated under one of the trees, resting his head upon the palm of his left hand, thoughtfully considering the matter and making the necessary observations as to the time, the place, the country, the race and the mother, holding a goad in his right hand. The representation in the lower panel gives an impression to the effect that the prayer of the deities is conveyed through the symphony of the music of the nymphs. The latter, viewed independently, contains a scene of forecast of the Bodhisattva's birth as a human child. The presence of the child indicates that the Bodhisattva has after all given his word of honour to be reborn in the mother's womb to the great joy of the deities. This joyous feeling bursts forth and finds a fitting expression through the combined music, songs and

Cf, points discussed by Prof. Rhys Davids in his Buddhist India, pp. 224 foll; by Fergusson in his Tre and Serpent Worship, and by Zimmer in his Alt Indisches Leben, p. 58.
Scenes Nos. 33-34.

dances of the nymphs. The grand opera is enacted by three groups of nymphs, each of four. The party is composed entirely of female experts, four of them dancing, four singing, and four playing on the harp and another such stringed instrument. The singers clap their hands in unison. The dancers dance in two rows, with lithesome movements. Of the five labels attached to this scene, one characterises the whole of it and the remaining four record the names of the four dancers :—

"The jovial and ravishing music of the gods, gay with acting."
"Alambhūshā—the heavenly dancer."
"Miśrakeśī—the heavenly dancer."
"Padmāvatī—the heavenly dancer."
"Subhadrā—the heavenly dancer."

All the nymphs belong to the anthropomorphic class, representing as they do the ideal forms of the earthly courtezans, experts in dancing, singing, playing on stringed instrument, wearing rich apparels, and such pleasing arts. The Bodhisattva himself appears in the scene, in the form of a boy, wearing ornaments like a female and participating in the dance. The Tushita is a heavenly mansion where the Bodhisattva is a dweller, instructing and meditating in the midst of an æsthetic enjoyment of life without indulgence in the sexual lust. Here is a musical performance in which the mothers gather round their boy and dance, sing and play. There is innocence in the midst of all joyful expressions. The two representations, taken together, are labelled by just one inscription characterising them as jovial, ravishing and joyous, the remaining inscriptions referring to the actors and actresses. They are nothing but two sectional presentations of one and the same scene, and presuppose a highly poetical description, similar to one in the Lalita-Vistara. The dull myth of the deities' supplication, revealing the historical motive, is used as the fitting subject of dramatic demonstration, affording the eternal child and youth in man an excuse for a full enjoyment of the joy which is divine, and free from the imposed restraint.

(3) The third representation in one of the Pillar-medallions is that of a scene[1], the subject of which is aptly described in the label as :—

"The Divine Being's Descent."

The scene is laid in the royal bed-chamber of King Śuddhodana where Queen Māyā is sleeping on a bedstead. A big oil-lamp is kept burning near her

[1] Scene No. 35.

feet, while a kamaṇḍalu or tea-kettle-shaped water-jug can be seen on the right side, within the reach of her right hand. These are all the utensils in her bed-chamber shown by the artist. She is attended by three maids, one of them fanning her with a chauri. She is evidently dreaming a dream in which she sees how the Bodhisattva descended from high in the shape of a six-tusked elephant, and forced his entry into her womb through her left side. The king is absent from the chamber. The conception takes place by a mere dream. Here the elephant may be taken to symbolise the cloud which pours down rain carrying the seeds of life which give rise to herbs and bushes on the earth. The lowest forms of life, such as the herbs and bushes, and the shining gods, such as the sun, the moon, the planets and stars, are classed among the beings having a chance-birth (opapātika-sattā). The notions of conception among the human beings that have played a part in the building up of Indian civilisation are as follows :—

(a) by the combination of parental elements brought together by the union of the sexes or by means of swallowing the semen by the mother when she is fit for maternity, the latter process being operative even where the female is a doe, e.g., the birth of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga, or a fish, e. g., the birth of Matsyagandhā ;

(b) by the agency of a second female, e. g., the birth of Bhagīratha, the implication being that the female is also endowed with the male energy ;

(c) by the agency of the mother alone, the parental elements in her person being brought together by means of (1) rubbing her navel with sesamum oil at the maternity season, (2) partaking of medicated powder, or (3) imagination or dream-suggestion.

The notion which satisfies the Buddhist spiritual need is that of a bodily descent and conception by mere dream-prognostication. The elephant also suggests the position and attitude of the fœtus. The Barhut scene presupposes a simpler form of the legend like one in the Pāli Jātaka-Commentary.

(5) The fourth representation in the middle panel on the left side of the Ajātaśatru Pillar contains a grand scene[1], in the royal residence of King Śuddhodana, of a large assembly of the Rūpabrahma deities, making obeisance to the newly born Bodhisattva and predicting the birth of Buddhism, and here the label befittingly records :—

"The Angel Arhadgupta announces the inception of the Divine Master's System."

1 Scene No. 37

The scene is laid in the parlour of Śuddhodana's royal residence, where in the centre is an ornamented jewel-seat of cubical shape, canopied by an umbrella with hanging garlands. The Bodhisattva himself does not appear, though his footprints appear on the threshold. The deities sit cross-legged with joined hands, surrounding the seat, their leader Arhadgupta alone kneeling down and touching the feet. The legend presupposed is like one in the Lalita-Vistara mentioning Maheśvara as the leader. Here, too, the disciplined habit and uniform dressing constitute a distinctive feature.

(6) The fifth representation on the face of a Gateway lower pillar shows a continuous scene of the great renunciation[1], where the Bodhisattva Prince Siddhārtha is seen going away at the dead of night from his father's palace and city on horseback, under the escort of the angels, headed by Arhadgupta. Here we have a front view of the palace. Its roof over the verandah rests in the outer end upon a row of pillars with octagonal shafts. The out-going footprints with wheel-marks indicate the departure of the prince by the main entrance, and the same device is used to indicate his departure from the guarded city. The rājalakshmī or the presiding female deity of the royal city stands with joined hands and feels sad as the prince goes away. The whole ground within and outside the city is strewn over with mandāraka flowers, symbolising the drops of rain or flakes of snow. The drummer beats his drum with his hands to mark the advance of the march. The scene presupposes a version of the legend similar to one in the Lalita-Vistara, and the attached label records the name of the head angel :—

"Arhadgupta."

(7) The sixth representation in the upper panel on the left side of the Ajātaśatru Pillar contains an interesting scene of celebration of a festival among the gods in the Trayavastriṁśa heaven[2] commemorating the enshrinement of the dressed hair-lock cut off from the head of the Bodhisattva and thrown up into the air by him. The scene is laid in and out of the Vaijayanta palace of Śakra and the Sudharmā, standing respectively as the celestial prototypes of the royal palaces and council-halls. These are the finest specimens of the secular architecture at Barhut. Here, too, is to be seen a musical performance, where some of the expert nymphs are characteristically dancing and some singing while the orchestra is in charge of the male gods. The musical instruments comprise the harp, the left-hand and right hand drums, and a bell-metal. The subject of illustration is a sequel of the story of the

[1] Scene No. 18. [2] Scene No. 37,

prince's self-initiation into asceticism (pravrajyā). Of the annexed labels, one records the name of the festival and the remaining two refer to the palace and the hall :—

"The ceremonial enshrinement of the
Divine Being's dressed hair-lock."
"Sudharmā—the celestial Council-Hall."
"Vaijayanta—the Mansion of Victory.[1]"

(8) Now one must take note of a continuous scene[1], in which the angels of the Rūprabrahmaloka, headed by Subrahmā, have come down on the back of the heavenly elephants to congratulate the Bodhisattva on his victory over the hosts of Māra on the eve of his enlightenment. The scene which is laid at Bodh Gayā presupposes a legend similar to that in the Lalita-Vistara. The angels carry and hold out in trays the coins, apparels and other gifts made by the Bodhisattva in his previous birth as an evidence confirming the truth of his assertion. In all the later versions of the legend, including the one in the Lalita-Vistara, the earth-deity Vasundharā is represented to be the witness. The label simply records the name of the head angel :—

"The Brahma god."

(9) The scene representing how the Buddha spent five weeks on five spots around the Bodhimaṇḍa is missing, but the label survives, recording :—

"The Five Seats of the Mighty Lord."

(10) The next representation in one of the Pillar medallions contains a combined scene of purchase of a royal park in the suburb of Śrāvastī from Prince Jeta by the banker Anāthapiṇḍika and dedication of it to the Buddhist Fraternity.[2] Here one has, first of all, a view of the park after all the trees but the sandal and mango plants were cut off, and, secondly, that after it was converted into a monastic residence with some new buildings constructed on the site. This shows how the site was floored with bricks by the masons. The bullock-cart, the unyoking of the bullocks, the unloading, the work of the masons and the carrier and the formal way of handing over the possession of the park as a gift are faithfully represented. The gold coins shown consist of bullions cut into small pieces of irregular shape, each bearing a punch or Svastika mark. The orderly manner of the party assembled is another notable feature. The scene is based upon a legend similar to that in

Scene No. 41 [2] Scene No. 45.

the Singhalese version reproduced by Spence Hardy, and it bears the following label incised in bold letters :—

"Anāthapiṇḍika dedicates the Jatavana,
purchased with a layer of crores."

(11) A serious misunderstanding among the Bhikshus at Kauśāmbī endangering the unity and future interest of the Buddhist Fraternity led the Master to go away alone to a woodland where he spent the rainy season, being waited upon by an elephant. Though the scene is missing, the following label survives to indicate its inclusion in the Barhut scheme :—

"Pārileya—the woodland resort."

(12) Another notabla scene[1] is that of King Ajātaśatru's visit, evidently based upon an account similar to that in the Sāmaññaphala-Sutta. The scene is laid in the mango-grove of Jīvaka. The king kneels before the Master's seat, and is attended by amazonian guards, all characteristically mounted on the back of elephants. The representation of a maṇḍalamāla with a hanging oil-lamp, kept burning, is an interesting point. The guards are disarmed. Here, too, the footprints appear as an indication that there is an actual historical fact behind the fiction. The attached label faithfully describes the action :—

"Ajātaśatru bows down to the Divine Master."

(13) Now one must take notice of a scene of the last interview of King Prasenajit with the Master. The royal procession is vividly represented. The Dharmachakra-hall symbolises the presence of the Master. The scene[2] contains a representation of the Dhammachetiya-Sutta in the Majjhima-Nikāya. The labels, instead of naming the Discourse, record the names of the king and the shrine :—

"King Prasenajit of Kosala."
"The Dharmachakra of the Divine Master."

(14) The next scene[3] represents the sequel of the Dhammachetiya story. The same royal procession and Dharmochakra-shrine serve to indicate the connexion. The subject of illustration is King Viḍūḍabha's or Virūḍhaka's march towards Kapilavāstu. The scene represents the sudden halt in the march due to a timely intervention of the Master, while the label refers to the non-violent attitude of the Śākyas :—

"Even they be dying themselves."

---

[1] Scene No. 51. [2] Scene No. 52. [3] Scene No. 53.

The text of the inscription shows that the scene is based upon a story similar to one in the Dhammapada-Commentary.

These last two incidents happened in the last year of Buddha's life. But there are few other scenes representing some of the intermediate episodes which cannot be chronologically arranged.

(15) In the first instance one must note the representation of an ornamented cavern[1] with an Indraśāla tree marking its entrance. The mountain is full of bears and monkeys. The cavern is sacred to Indra. The sanctuary has an aroma of Vedic religion. The harper Pañchaśikha is sent to arrange an interview for Śakra, the king of the gods. The scene is intended to represent the episode of the Sakkapañha-Sutta, but the label just records the name of the cavern :—

"The Indraśāla cave."

(16) On the left terminus pillars of the four Quadrants one might see the statues of four Lokapālas or Regents of the Quarters guarding the four entrances of the Buddhist sanctuary Dhṛitarāshṭra, Virūpāksha and Kubera. The figures of Dhṛtarāshṭra and Virūpāksha are now missing. The labels describe each of them as a yaksha or warrior-god :—

["Dhṛitarāshṭra—the Yaksha".]
"Virūḍhaka—the Yaksha".
["Virūpāksha—the Yaksha".]
"Kubera—the Yaksha."

All of them must have been represented as standing with joined hands, directed evidently towards the invisible presence of the Buddha ; and their representations must have been based upon a legend such as that in the Āṭānāṭiya-Sutta. In the Lalita-Vistara and Mahāvastu versions of this Discourse each of them is said to have guarded a particular quarter with the help of a general, eight constellations and eight heavenly damsels, Dhṛitarāshṭra guarding the eastern quarter with the help of Sūryya ; Virūḍhaka, the southern quarter with the help of Yama ; Virūpāksha, the western quarter with the help of Varuṇa ; and Kubera, the northern quater with the help of Maṇibhadra. They are the dwellers of rhe lowest of the six heavens of lust and holders of the royal sceptre. The first is the supreme leader of the Gandharvas, the second that of the Kumbhāṇḍas, the third that of the Nāgas, and the fourth that of the Yakshas. In the Pāli version all the powerful Vedic deities,

Scene No. 56. [1] Scenes Nos. 75-60.

Prajāpati, Varuṇa, and the rest are classed among the Yaksha generals. The Mahāsamaya-Suttanta classifies the Yakshas and Nāgas and Devatās according to localities and attributes. The Purāṇas mention their various groups. Here Kubera is represented as naravāhana. The four guardian gods of warrior-like habit and civic spirit are all benevolent deities and represent a super-human type, whose families and retinues include the Gandharva classes of beings, noted for music and erotic temperament, the Kumbhāṇḍas of savage vice, the Nāgas of pitiable existence in spite of wealth, and the Yakshas of ferocious spirit. Here their figures serve as prototypes of the warrior-kings, the guards of fortified cities, the gate-keepers and sentinels.

(17) It is in taming and humanising the Yakshas that the Master had to display his great moral courage and spiritual powers. Among the Yaksha-scenes one must first take note of the figure of a Yaksha[1] standing on a hideous-looking vehicle with the tail of a crocodile and the front part of a quadruped. This demigod is called Ajakalāpaka or Goat-molester, the devourer of the living beings of immortal essence, in whose temple and abode, near Pāṭali or Pāvā, the goats were sacrificed in groups or men entered with offerings uttering the cry aja or unborn, the aja or goat symbolising the unborn essence. The burning of the goat with a corpse is an ancient Indo-Aryan custom, referred to in one of the Vedic funeral hymns. The Yaksha represents Time or Death, the destroyer of living creatures. Even this dreaded demon was tamed by the Buddha. He appears in a human shape, standing with joined hands before the august presence of the Master as a gentle listener, and guarding the sanctuary. The scene is intended to present the Ajakalāpaka-Sutta in the Udāna, but the label simply records the name of the interlocutor as :—

"Ajakāla, the Yaksha."

(18) There is another figure of a Yaksha standing in a similar devotional attitude. The particulars of this demigod cannot be traced in any known Buddhist or Indian work. His name indicates that he is a dweller of the Gangetic region. His vehicle is an elephant. The scene itself must have been based upon a Buddhist Discourse with the Yaksha as interlocutor. The label names him :—

"Gāṅgeya, the Yaksha."[3]

(19) There is a third Yaksha-statue[4] with the usual devotional attitude. He remains standing on the straight roof of a railing-like construction. The scene of

Scene No. 61. [2] Scene No. 62. [3] Scene No. 63. [4] Scene No. 64.

interview is based upon a Buddhist Discourse, the Süchiloma-Sutta, from which and its Commentary it is clear that he is a needle-haired porcupine-like demigod with his abode in the inside of a Ṭaṁ-shaped stone-structure, on the roof of which there lived the Ẏaksha Khara of the rough-skinned crocodile species. The label aptly describes him as :—

"Sūcihoma, the needle-haired Ẏaksha."

(20) There is yet another Ẏaksha-statue[1] appearing in the same devotional attitude. Here the demigod rides on an elephant. The Sutta upon which the scene is based cannot now be traced. In the label he is named :—

"Supravāsa, the Ẏaksha."

(21) There is an interesting scene[1] in which a Nāgarāja or Dragon-chief hurriedly wends his way to the Divine saviour, seated under one of the Śirīsha trees[2] together with his wife and daughter, to pay his homage as a means of escape out of his present pitiable existence in spite of his vast hoards of wealth, of obtaining the gift of speech. He is known as one of the four richest persons in the whole of India, and assigned to a home in a lake in Takshaśilā, which is a great centre of trade. The scene is laid on the bank of a large river with an island, which is partly submerged during the high tide. The tree under which the Master is shown to have been seated appears to be the lord of its kind, endowed with a distinct personality of its own. The pathos of life remains hidden in the romance of the situation. In the midst of a lotus-covered river the Dragon-chief in the shape of a dragon lifts his large hood above water, and his handsome daughter dances and sings on his head, attracting the human suitors who might give information of whereabouts of the Master. The story of the interview can be traced in the Dhammapada-Commentary and the Mahāvastu. The Barhut scene presupposes a legend containing elements of both the versions. Of the two labels, one contains the name of the Dragon-chief and the other describes his action :—

"Erāpata, the Dragon-chief".
"The Dragon-chief Erāpata bows
down to the Divine Master."

(22) The second scene[2] where another Dragon-chief remains standing, in human shape and with cobra-hood over the turban, on a rocky ground adjoining a lake

Scene No. 64. [1] Scene No. 69. [2] Scene No. 70.

and in the usual devotional attitude, must have been based upon a distinct legend, which cannot now be traced. The label records the name of :—

"Chakravāka, the Dragon-chief."

(23) Side by side with the statues of these demigods there are the figures of some demigoddesses representing two distinct classes, viz. the Yakshiṇi and the Devatā. The Yakshiṇis, as described in Buddhist literature, represent two types, one being the metamorphosis of a jealous rival wife, and the other the voluptuous savage woman of South India and Ceylon. The Barhut figures seem to typify some tender natural phenomena e. g., the moon-beams piercing through the trees, and the sun-rays floating in the air and on the surface of water. But they may be taken also to represent other races than the Aryan. Two of these statues[1] bear the labels recording the names of :—

"Chandrā Yakshiṇī."
"Yakshiṇi Sudarśanā."

(24) The Devatās represent a variety of the demigoddesses who being propitiated grant success in life. In two examples there are two figures of the presiding deities of hunting, one standing on the back of an elephant and the other on the ground. The labels name them as :—

"Kshudrakokā—the little hunter-goddess."
"Mahākokā—the great hunter-goddess."

The term kokā implies that here rhe referance is to the primitive method of hunting with the help of the dogs. There is a separate representation in one of the Pillar upper half medallions illustrating this mode of hunting.

(25) There is another inscribed statue of a goddess[2] with prominent hip and heaving bust, expressive of the power of production and feeding. The label attached describes her as :—

"Sirmā—the goddess of lucky grace."

These isolated statues of the demigoddesses are representations that are not based upon distinct Discourses where they are the interlocutors but upon some version of the Mahāsamaya-Suttanta enumerating the various classes of deities and their families and retinues.

(26) The Bodhi-Tree was not the only object enjoyed or used by the Buddha. There were other things as well, e. g., seats, tanks, robes and bowls, associated with

[1] Scenes No. 73-74. [2] Scene No. 78.

the treasured memory of his real existence. The Pāribhogika-chetiyas enshrining them were not protected even by animals and reptiles. The first example of this class of Buddhist sanctuaries is afforded by the missing representation of an āsana with the label describing it as :—

"The seat of the Divine and Mighty Lord,
frequented and guarded by many elephants."

(27) The second example which survives in full shows the representation of a triangular lake or pool with ornamented banks[1] guarded by a herd of wild elephants and a pack of lions. A dragon-king guards the bottom. This is a lake where the Buddha bathed and on the bank of which he washed his garments. The lake has a triangular form, it is guarded by a trio composed of the dragon, the elephant and the lion, and the label aptly indexes the representation as a scene of :—

"The triangular resort."

(28) There is a fine medallion carving depicting a scene[2] in which the name of the Buddha serves to rescue the passengers of merchant-vessels from the grasp of the sea-monster leviathan. The vessels shown are ordinary boats pulled by oars. The appearance of the monster-fish and the commotion in the sea-water are delightfully represented. The literature enumerates the various dangers attending sea-voyages and means of escape therefrom. Among the dangers, the typical are those arising (1) from the whales and tortoises, (2) from waves and tides, (3) from running aground, (4) from sinking in water. (5) from being struck on submarine rocks, (6) from monsoons, and (7) from the pirates.[3] Among the means of escape, the typical are those by means of (1) satyakriyā or the exercise of the power of truthfulness. (2) nāmasmaraṇa or taking the name of the supreme deity, (3) puṇyaikriyā or performance of the acts of merit, (4) śraddhā or faith in the goodness and mercy of God, (5) the intervention of Maṇimekhalā and some such deities. and (6) the exercise of one's own intelligence, skill and powers. Here the scene illustrates a case where the danger arose from a sea-monster and the means of escape was found in uttering the name of the Buddha. The inscribed label fittingly describes the subject in these words :—

"Vasugupta is brought ashore being rescued from the grip of Timiṅgila
(by the power of the name) of the Mighty Lord."

(29) There are several inscribed carvings illustrating the anecdotes regarding the previous Bodhisattva-career of Śākyamuni. Each of them represents either a

[1] Scene No. 83. [2] Scene No. 85. [3] Divyāvadāna, p. 229.

complete Birth-story, or a single incident relating to particular birth, or a number of episodes. Some of the attached labels characterise the scenes with reference to the illustrated stories, called after the Bodhisattva :—

1 Maghādeviya-Jātaka [Barhut].
Makhādeva-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

2 Isimiga-Jātaka [Barhut].
Nigrodhamiga-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

3 Bhojāja|niya-Jātaka [Barhut].
Bhojājānīya-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

4 Haṁsa-Jātaka [Barhut].
Nachcha-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

5 Nāga-Jātaka [Barhut].
Kakkaṭa-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

6 Sujāta-gahuta Jātaka [Barhut].
Sujāta-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

7 Laṭuvā-Jātaka [Barhut].
Laṭukikā-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

8 Miga-Jātaka [Barhut].
Ruru-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

9 Chhadaṁtiya-Jātaka [Barhut].
Chhaddanta-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

10 Isisiṁgiya-Jātaka [Barhut].
Ṛishyaśṛiṅga-Upākhyāna [Mahābhārata].

11 Mugapakiya-Jātaka [Barhut].
Mūgapakkha-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

Some of the labels characterise the scenes with reference to the principal actors :—

1 Chitupādasila [Barhut].
"The gamblers fond of the square-board game".
Litta-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

2 Asaḍā vadhu susāne sigāla ñati [Barhut].
"Woman Āshāḍhā, jackals on a funeral ground and her kinsman".
Asilakkaṇa-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

(3) Kaḍari-Ki(narā) [Barhut].
Kaṇḍari-Jātaka [Jātaka Comy].

(4) Biḍala-Jatara Kukuṭa-Jātaka [Barhut].
Kukkuṭa-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

(5) Uda-Jātaka [Barhut].
Udda-Jātaka [Dhammapada-Comy].
Dabbhapuppha-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

(6) Vijapi-Vijadharo [Barhut].
"Spell-muttering Vidyādhara."
Samugga-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

(7) Kinara-Jātaka [Barhut].
Episode of Kinnaras in the—
Takkāriya-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

(8) Usukāro Janako rājā Sivaladevi [Barhut].
"Arrow-maker, King Janaka, Queen Sīvalī"

One of the episodes in the—

Mahājanaka-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

(9) Vitura-Punakiya-Jātaka [Barhut].
Vidhūrapaṇḍita-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

Some of the labels describe the main action :—

(1) Sechha-Jātaka [Barhut].
"Water-drawing in the Jātaka-scene".
Dūbhiyamakkaṭa-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

(2) Dighatapasi sise anusasati [Barhut].
"The venerable ascetic instructs his pupils".
Mūlapariyāya-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

(3) Bhisaharaniya-Jātaka [Barhut].
"Jātaka-scene with reference to lotus-fibre-stealing.'
Bhisa-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

(4) Vaḍuko katha dohati Naḍode pavate [Barhut].
"Vaḍika extracts juicy balm on Mt. Nārada."
Vaḍikavastu [Avadāna-Śataka].

Some of the labels characterise the scenes by external associations :—

(1) Migasamadaka-chetaya [Barhut].
"Woodland-shrine in the animal feeding-ground."
Vyaggha-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

(2) Naḍodapāde dhenachako [Barhut].
"Trim-boughed Banyan tree at the foot of Mt. Nārada."
Dhonasākha-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

(3) Daḍanikamo chakamo [Barhut].
"The resort wherefrom escape is difficult."
Uraga-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy],

(4) Abode chātiyaṁ [Barhut].
"At the watery lake."
Mātiposaka-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

(5) Yavamajhakiya-Jātaka [Barhut].
"Scene of Jātaka-episode with reference to the village Yavamadhyaka."

The episode in the—

Mahāummagga-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

(6) Jabū Naḍode pavate [Barhut].
"Rose-apple trees on Mt. Nārada."

The episode in—

(?) Vessantara-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

(7) Himani [chakamo] [Barhut].
"Snowy resort."

(8) Jaṭila-sabhā [Barhut].
"Matted-hair ascetics' hall"
Indasamānagotta-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

Some of the labels characterise a scene by the external associations as well as actors :—

(1) Bahuhathiko [Barhut].
"Attended by many elephants."
Bahuhathiko nigodho Naḍode [Barhut].
"The Banyan tree on Mt. Nārada, attended by many elephants.".

Susupālo koḍāyo Veḍuko arāmako [Barhut].
"Śiśupāla the fort-keeper, Veṇuka the forester."
Mahāvāṇija-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

Some of the labels characterise the scenes by catchwords of the moral verses in the original stories :—

(1) Yaṁ-brāmhano-avāyesi-Jātaka [Barhut].
"Scene of the Birth-story with the moral verse—As the Brahmin played."
Aṇḍabhūta-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

(2) Dusito giri dadati na [Barhut].
"The would-be rogue did not offer the hill."
Suchchaja-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

There are two curious instances where the labels are mainly Votive and are at the same time Jātaka :—

(1) Bhadata-Mahilasa thabho dānaṁ [Barhut].
(With the figure of Mihira the Sun-god)"[1]

(2) Bibikānadikaṭa-Suladhasa asavārikasa dānaṁ [Barhut].
"Gift [of a scene of the trooper] of Sulabdha the trooper from Bimbikānadikaṭa."

The scene of the trooper based upon the—
Valāhassa-Jātaka [Jātaka-Comy].

(30) In one of these scenes Maghādeva or Mahādeva, the good king of Videha, is upset at the sight of a grey hair picked up from his head and resigns his kingdom in favour of his eldest son, the crown prince who is called into his presence[2]. He is seated on a throne that resembles one of the modern fashionable chairs. He has long hair on his head, and wears on his person all ornaments but anklets and girdles. His face is clean shaven. The prince stands gently before him. The barber stands behind him with his shaving pot, brush and pincers. The removal of grey hair is one of his duties. In the ascetic language the grey hair is the death's messenger [devadūta]. Its appearance is an indication that a man must lose no more time to retire. The problem suggested is far deeper than the per-

[1] Scene No. 71. [2] Scene No. 87.

sonal fear of death. The distrust in the triumph of sciences and arts is an important consideration. Making room for others is also a necessity. Mahādeva is the king when he reigns; he is the ascetic when he retires into the forest; and he is the god when he is dead.

(31) The next scene[1] shows a saintly deer as a victim on the execution block which is laid in a royal garden. The garden is represented by a tree. The deer asks the boon of safety for his species and for all the creatures of the man who stands with an axe for beheading him. The kings were fond of deer-hunting and venison-eating. The ascetics pleaded for mercy and non-harming. The kings interfered with the people's daily work in compelling them to accompany them for deer-hunting. The people contrived means to decoy the deer into and imprison them inside the royal park. Experience showed that in attempting to shoot one deer, others were made to suffer a panic. The execution-block as a means of beheading one deer daily out of sight of others was introduced and proved to be a remedy. The kings in course of time protected the living creatures within the residences of the Jainas and the Ājīvikas[2]. The Brahmin law-givers were led from hygenic consideration to prohibit the eating of the flesh of certain beasts, birds and fishes. King Aśoka enacted game-laws prohibiting injury to certain species of living creatures. The Jainas and the Ājīvikas advocated strict vegetarianism as a creed. The sin lies in killing and not in eating continued to be the general Buddhist attitude. Here for want of space one man is made to represent the king as well as the royal cook.

(32) The third scene[3] represents the return of a horseman and his trained charger after victory. The Horse, the Elephant, the Chariot and the Foot-men represented the four divisions of the Indian army. The present scene illustrates the importance of the cavalry charge as a means of offence and defence.

(33) The fourth scene[4] which is laid on a rocky islet in the midst of a lotus-lake represents a gathering of the birds with the golden mallard as their king. A handsome peacock rapturously dances, making a display of his plumage and worth. The gathering is represented by the golden mallard and the peacock. The scenery is natural. The representation of the dance of the peacock is lifelike. The occasion is one of svayamvara, the king's daughter being given the right of choosing her husband. The marrying of a princess is a romance of youth. She is brought up in refinement.

[1] Scene No. 88. [2] i. e., provided what is technically called dhammikārakkhāvaraṇa-gutti. [3] Scene No. 90. [4] scene No. 91.

The dignified manners are the characteristic of a royal family. The peacock is chosen by the young princess for his plumage, but he is rejected by her father for his shameless dance.

(34) Now one must turn to a scene[1] where the gamblers are playing a square-board game, which is apparently a variety of dice. Six pieces of dice and the cubical box containing them are shown. The sharper playing tricks is badly handled. He did not know that the dice which he swallowed was rubbed with poison. His head reeled. He fell on the ground. Here his fall is represented by the breaking of the stone-slab with the game-board.

(35) Then one must pass on to a scene[2] of a funeral ground where a young woman is chased by a pack of jackals, while her kinsman lies on the earth pretending to be dead. Here the ground is a charnel-grove where the dead bodies were thrown away unburnt, exposed to the sun, and liable to undergo the process of decomposition or being eaten away by the worms and carnivorous beasts and birds. This afforded opportunities to medical students to make anatomical observations before the introduction of dissection. The wanderers and recluses found shelter. The ascetics got opportunities for meditation on transitoriness. The thieves obtained a hiding place. The rogues found a place for insulting the dead bodies. The exorcists gained a spot for practising their black art. The royal executioner found a ground for impaling and beheading the rebels and criminals, and the royal priests found one for sacrificing human beings. The moralists found an objective background for their conceptions of hells and punishments. The belief at the back of the custom is that after the soul has departed, there is no difference between a human corpse and a carcase. The prevention of wastage in nature is also a consideration. The custom implies a reversion to and a continuation of the primitive natural state of man.

(36) One scene represents a cave-dwelling of the matted-hair ascetics[3]. In other scenes the ascetics are represented as dwelling in leaf-huts, all of which are one-peaked houses. The ascetics of the Jaṭila class were all fire-worshippers, and lived a corporate life under a common leader. Here only their leader appears within the cave.

(37) In another scene[4] a Brahmin carries water for a thirsty monkey in a dreary forest. The water is drawn out of a well. Two jars are filled with it and carried on the Brahmin's shoulder with the help of a banghi pole and two nets of cords. Filling the troughs with water for thirsty beasts and birds was considered to be a great act of merit.

[1] Scene No. 96. [2] Scene No. 97. [3] Scene No. 98. [4] Scene No. 99.

(38) One must take note of the scene[1] in which the great ascetic teacher holds his class. The pupils are seated in the open air under a tree, the male students on their heels and the female students cross-legged, while the teacher himself sits cross-legged on a deer-skin spread over a high seat.

(39) None should pass unnoticed the scene[2] in which a delicate story of Kaṇḍari and Kinnarī is represented by two human figures, placed side by side, the female figure holding a pigeon and the male a hawk. The pigeon symbolises passion, and the hawk the means of finding it out. All that is meant is that Kaṇḍari found out Kinnarī's love-intrigue.

(40) The next important scene[3] is one in which the dead body of a Brahmin's son is being burnt on a funeral pyre by his parents, sisters and wife on a cremation-ground. He was bitten by a snake while he was burning the heaped up faggots and died on the spot. By the same device the artists have represented funeral pyre and the bundle of faggots. The cremation-ground is represented by a Yaksha eating up a dead body. The fire is protected by a straight wall. The courage of the members of the Brahmin family is tested by Śakra, whose advent is signified by the lions' roar. Four lion-heads with gaping mouths represent the roar.

(41) The last important scene[4] to be noted is one in which Mahaushadha, the Bodhisat, displays his great power of judgment. He sits in the midst of the village people with his great personality. As the disputant parties pass by his house, they are sent for, and he settles the dispute by detecting the real fact of the case. No lengthy procedure is required. The offending party pleads guilty and is chastised. The real owner gets back his things and goes away praising the good man.

(42) It was not possible for persons other than the Buddhists intimately acquainted with the texts and traditions to conceive the plan and draw up the scheme. But one must always regret to be confronted with an irregular order of the Jātaka-scenes, due partly to the lack of supervision on the part of the superintending monks, and partly to the insistence of the donors to place their gifts first, the carvings of their liking. Though there was a ready-made plan, it had to be worked out gradually, according to opportunities. The labels were a desideratum and theoretically proved to be of immense help in finding out the connecting links and identifying the illustrated stories with the texts and traditions that were in the background. The interest of the Buddhist teachers who supplied the sculptors with the legends and stories was to see the texts, consisting of Discourses with anecdotes, faithfully represented. The duty

[1] Scene No. 104. [2] Scene No. 112. [3] Scene No. 116. [4] Scene No. 137.

of the artists, entrusted with the work, was to make designs and carvings. The Discourses in their literary forms could not be represented. The limited spaces at their disposal prevented them from representing all the details. The representation of a Discourse by parts, and the separate representations of the parts, placed wide apart, meant a complete loss of the connexion. The representation of a Birth-story by a central episode compelled the artists to exercise a good deal of their own discretion. This gave them an opportunity of bringing their own intellect, imagination and originality into play, with the result that they could make the designs and carvings their own, keeping the texts and traditions in view. The inspiration remained so long as the forms evolved as a means to an end, in close relation to the matter behind, and it vanished as soon as the forms became stereotyped as an end by themselves, independently of the matter. Most of the Barhut labels indicate that the artists were interested to draw attention to their own works.

In a few instances where the Jātaka-scenes are named after the principal actors, the heroes of the illustrated stories, they may be supposed to have inscribed the labels supplied by the Buddhist teachers. Also in other instances where the scenes are named after the minor actors, or by the catchwords of the morals of the illustrated stories, the labels may have been suggested by the Buddhist teachers. But in instances where the labels, instead of naming the stories, refer to individual actors or to actions or to external associations, the artists are concerned only to draw attention to the notable points in their own designs.

In one case, two successive phases of the Mātiposaka-Jātaka have been represented in two panels intervened by several other scenes, and one of the panels is labelled with the inscription referring to a watery lake. The artists have, moreover, added to the scene the presence of a woodland-shrine,[1] which has no bearing upon the story. The story of Vidūra and Pūrṇaka is distributed into four panels that are not placed in order.[2] Here the suspicion is apt to arise if the stories were at all intelligible, even with the help of the labels. If the scenes were placed in order, represented in full and properly labelled, the case would perhaps have been different. It seems that the scenes, as they are represented at Barhut, were not at all intelligible to the pilgrims or visitors without the help of the guide. A passage in the Divyāvadāna throws some light on the point. There one reads that the subject-matters of the scenes on the doorway of the Veṇuvana monastery were known to none but the Buddha. Regarding the monks in general, it is said, "They do not

[1] Scene No. 124. [2] Scene No. 136.

know themselves, and how can they explain these to the visitors ?" Some exception is made with regard to capable monks.[1] But it became difficult even for the capable among the monks of Barhut to point out the interconnexion of the scenes with reference to the texts and traditional succession of the legends and stories, or to visualise the same in their own mind. In order to point out the intended interconnexion and its textual basis, the guide was required to lead the pilgrims and visitors, back and fro, and supply additional labels which was impracticable. Thus the curious result of employing the artists once for carrying out the textual scheme of the Buddhists was that the Buddhist teachers themselves became employed for ever to explain the work of the artists, and were compelled to narrate the stories at random, according to the artists' designs and carvings. The servants became the masters. The artist took the place of the teacher, and art that of thought. If so, one is bound to inquire into the nature and extent of the change effected by the artistic representations in the subsequent Jātaka literature.

(43) The baneful effect of the topsyturvy order of the Jātaka-scenes tampering with the traditional succession of the legends and stories is very marked in the Mahāvastu story of the Buddha in which the reader is apt to lose the thread and the links. The exaggerated poetical descriptions of the Bodhi-Trees in later Jātaka-literature, including the Avadānas, was an immediate effect of the artistic representations. Comparing the earlier Canonical Jātaka ballads with the later Commentary versions of the Birth-stories, one can detect a twofold process of expansion : first, the addition of another ballad which represented an independent story, and of the Buddha-verses (abhisambuddha-gāthā) which were the compilers' own compositions or quotations to explain the connexions ; secondly, the introduction of several details far beyond the scope of the story suggested in a Canonical ballad, recasting, in cases, the whole of the earlier story, and of the episode or episodes explanatory of certain points or allusions in the moral verse or verses. It is in regard to the details that the artistic representations seem to have exercised influence on the later Jātaka literature. One example may suffice. One of the uninscribed Jātaka-scenes represents a story which agrees in all its details with the story of Mahākapi as narrated in Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā.[2] The Pāli Canonical ballad sets forth a bare outline of the story which was developed by the Barhut artists. The Barhut illustration was based upon a tradition other than Pali. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the Commentary-version introduces many points that are not contemplated in the Canonical ballad. One of these points is that

[1] Divyāvadāna, pp. 300-301. [2] Scene No. 122

Read after page 72.

P. 72 (a)

Devadatta, then born as a wicked monkey among the followers of the Bodhisat, wilfully jumped from high on the back of the Bodhisat to break his bone. This point appears to have been suggested by the Barhut carving where the artists in indicating how the monkeys passed from one tree to the other, have incidentally represented a monkey on the tree-top, ready to jump from high.

(44) So far as these processes are concerned, the Barhut Jātaka-scenes yield the following testimonies. In the scene bearing the label Isisiṁgiya-Jātaka, just the Bodhisat's birth from a doe is fully represented.[1] This is a minor point in the story of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga. The really important point as to how the Bodhisat was tempted in vain by a heavenly courtezan and earthly princess is entirely left out. The label indicates that there was only one Buddhist version of the story, then known to the Barhut artists, with the title corresponding to that of the story of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga in the Sanskrit Epics. In the later Buddhist works, such as the Jātaka-Commentary, the Mahāvastu and the Avadānakalpalatā, one finds two stories, named after the two temptresses as the Alambhūshā and the Nalinikā, with Ṛishyaśṛiṅga as the hero and the Barhut episode as common to both. In the second scene the artists have represented a royal personage as giving away a state-elephant as a gift to a Brahmin ascetic[2]. The scene bears no label whatsoever to indicate that it belonged to any particular Birth-story. The Commentary-collection contains two distinct Jātakas, viz., the Kurudhamma and the Vessantara, developed with the Barhut episode as a common plot, the latter as a Buddhist substitute for the Rāmāyanic story of Rāma-Sītā[3].

In the Jātaka-Commentary, the story of Kaṇḍarī-Kinnarī is treated as a separate Jātaka as well as an interlude in the Kuṇāla. The Barhut scene with the label Kaḍari-Ki[4] leaves one in the dark as to the actual position of the story in the Jātaka-collection, then known. Similarly the story of Janaka and Arrow-maker is just one of the many episodes in the Mahājanaka-Jātaka. Neither from the Barhut scene[5] nor from its label it is decisive if this was then treated as a Jātaka by itself or an interlude of another Jātaka. But consider the scene in which a pair of Kinnaras stand in the presence of a king[6]. It bears a label which distinctly characterises the underlying story as a Jātaka, called Kinnara. This story occurs in the Commentary collection as one of the episodes in the Takkārīya-Jātaka. Here the evidence of the Barhut scene may be taken to prove either that the stories originally treated as separate Jātakas were later on interwoven into the narrative of a larger Birth-story of the novelette class, or that the interludes of a novellethe Jātaka came to be treated as independent Birth-stories. The following example will, however, show how the earlier form of a story supplied the peg upon which was engrafted another story. Mahaushadha's feats of wisdom and ready wit at Yavamadhyaka form one of the many episodes in the Mahāummagga-Jātaka. The Barhut carving[7] illustrates just these feats

[1] Scene No. 131. [2] Scene No. 138. [3] Fausboll's Jātaka, Vol. VI, p. 557 : the wife of the Bodhisat says that she followed her husband in his exile just as Sitā followed Rāma (Rāmaṃ Sita va). [4] Scene No. 112. [5] Scene No. 135. [6] Scene No. 125. [7] Scene No, 137.

under the label Yavamajhakiya-Jātaka. The label clearly indicates that the Jātaka in its earlier form was concerned only with these feats.

(45) The processes of conversion of a current folk-tale into a Buddhist Jātaka are an interesting point. Three things were necessary (1) introduction of a new hero where the action of the hero of the folk-tale is inconsistent with the Buddhist principle ; (2) retention of the hero of the folk-tale by modifying his action so as to make it tally with the Buddhist principle ; (3) identification of the hero with the Buddha in his previous birth. The Barhut scenes throw some light upon the first process. In the Pañchatantra and Hitopadeśa story, the pair of sparrows successfully took revenge upon the elephant that arrogantly crushed their nest and young ones. Vengeance is against the Buddhist spirit. So in the Buddhist counterpart of this story, namely, in the Laṭuvā or Laṭukikā Jātaka, the avenging bird could not be treated as the hero or heroine. Here the Bodhisat is another elephant who, out of sympathy, took care not to harm the young ones[1]. In the folk-tale the jackal was the hero who went away with the lion's share, deceiving the two others who invited him to equitably divide a red fish between them. Deception is not a Buddhist virtue. So in the Buddhist story, the hero is changed. In the Barhut story, the hero is an ascetic[2], and in the Commentary story, he is a tree-spirit. The folk-tale is retained intact, for the Buddhist hero is only a moraliser upon the incident.

60. Exclusive use of Gesture :—The uninscribed scenes illustrating stories of the present and those of the past represent the exclusive use of Gesture. These supplement the inscribed scenes, completing the Barhut sketch of the life of Śākyamuni.

(1) Among the scenes illustrating the stories of the present, one must first of all turn to a fragment retaining the drooping branch of a tree, Plaksha or Aśoka, with the hand of a woman seizing it.[3] The tree is in flower. The hand shows bracelets adorning the wrist, and rings adorning the fingers. The scene probably represents the birth of the Bodhisattva at the Lumbinī park, and it is mainly based upon a legend like one in the Jātaka-Commentary.

(2) The fragment of the second scene, depicted in one of the Coping-panel[4], presents a flight of three Ṛishis over a spot where a fire is kept burning. Here the fire symbolises the shining appearance of the child Bodhisattva. When the scene was complete, it represented a flight of five Ṛishis. Each of the Ṛishis wears two garments, under and upper, and has matted hair. Each carries a bowl or a jug in

---

[1] Scene No. 117. [2] Scene No. 121. [3] Scene No. 36. [4] Scene No. 38.

his left hand. They remain poised in the air, above the fire. The mystical practice has enabled them to acquire the miraculous power of flying like birds, but they must not dare cross the spot where the Bodhisattva, gifted with a greater potency, lay. The scene is based upon a legend similar to one in the Lalita-Vistara.

(3) The third scene[1] contains a representation of festive decorations on the road whereby the Bodhisattva proceeded from the river Nairañjanā to the Bo Tree. The specimen shown consists of a two-storeyed celestial mansion with two chambers, in each of which is seated a god watching the road. The mansion has two palmyra trees in front, and some birds on its roof. It presupposes a poetical description similār to one in the Lalita-Vistara.

(4) The fourth scene[2] presents the front view of a covered walk, consisting of a long platform in the open-pillared hall of a two-storeyed building, which has a vaulted roof with small pinnacles and two gabled ends. The platform bears on its upper face certain ornamental impressions that are symbolical of the flowers and other offerings made thereon, and on its front side representations of human hands that symbolise the act of worship. Each floor has a ground for perambulation within a stone-enclosure. The upper floor is provided with three doorways from which three garlands are hanging. The representation is surely one of the Jewel-walk, i.e., of the level ground where the Buddha spent a week in walking back and fro after his Enlightenment. Here each pillar has an octagonal shaft with a lotus-ornament and a bracket.

(5) The next representation presents a scene of worship of a material symbol of wheel, set revolving upon a pillar, which is crowned by the figures of two deer.[3] The figures of deer indicate that the scene is laid in the Deer-park of Ṛishipattana, near Benares. The Hindu thinkers were accustomed to think in the term of the allegory of wheel or cycle (chakra). In order to appeal to them, the Buddha presented the truths in the garb of expressions adapted to this allegory.

(6) Now one must turn to the scene of the great miracle performed by the Buddha at the foot of the Gaṇḍamba mango tree, defeating the six heretical teachers who boasted of their superiority in superhuman faculties[4]. The performance of miracles was held as a test for the greatness of a teacher. A large crowd has gathered round the place and stands in an orderly manner. The miracle-contests are not less attractive to multitudes than cock-fights. The scene is based upon a legend corresponding to one in the Pāṭihāriyavatthu of the Dhammapada-Commentary.

[1] Scene No. 40. [2] Scene No. 42. [3] Scene No. 44. [4] Scene No, 46.

(7) Then one must take note of the scene of preaching Abhidharma in Tushita to a large congregation of the gods, headed by the Buddha's mother, now reborn as a god[1]. The cubical seat is placed at the foot of a heavenly tree. The scene reminds one of the open-air class, with a large number of disciplined pupils attending it. The woman must become a man before she acquires the fitness to appreciate the scientific analysis and method. The woman is one who thinks in the term of the concrete, is guided by poetry and sentiment, and welcomes all that renders one's preconceived notions significant. The legend presupposed corresponds to one in the Pāṭihāriyavatthu of the Dhammapada-Commentary.

(8) This is followed by an interesting scene of the Buddha's descent from Tushita by a ladder[2]. In the popular tradition Rāvaṇa tried to build a staircase connecting the earth with the heaven but failed. Rāvaṇa is the Airāvaṇa or water-spout rising up from the sea. The boasted claim of the Boddhists is that they succeeded in building a ladder of this kind. King Aśoka claims in some of his Minor Rock Edicts that he was able to bring together men and the gods. All Buddhist congregations are composed of gods and men. The legend presupposed is partly similar to one in the Pāṭihāriyavatthu of the Dhammapada-Commentary and partly to one in a Tibetan version reproduced in Rockhill's Life of the Buddha.

(9) There is another scene[3] which represents the planting and enshrinement of a Bo-sapling within the precincts of the Jetavana monastery. Here one has a front view of the sanctuary which is provided with three doorways and covered by a round vaulted roof resembling the oval part of a stūpa. The scene represents by the same design the present and past anecdotes of the Kāliṅgabodhi-Jātaka.

(10) The scene of the great decease is represented twice in two separate carvings[4], one occurring in a Return pillar panel and the other in a Return rail. In each of these carvings, the two pairs of the twin Śāla trees indicate the spot where the Buddha lay down and passed away. The Stūpa marks the spot where his body was cremated and the portion of his bodily remains or relics was preserved and enshrined by the Mallas at Kusinārā. The Return pillar carving presents a pillar, with a cylindrical shaft and a bracket, and is surmounted by the figures of four lions. The lions bravely sit on their haunches, two on each side, back to back precisely as they do on some of the isolated Aśokan monoliths. As regards this carving, it presupposes a version of the Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta which included in its account the visit of Aśoka to the place as a fact. The four principal spots, recommended in this Suttanta

[1] Scene No. 47. [2] Scene No. 48. [3] Scene No. 50. [4] Scenes Nos. 54-55.

as memorable by the admirers seeking inspiration, consist of those where the Buddha was born, received enlightenment, delivered the first sermon and ultimately passed away. All of them were visited by King Aśoka during his pious tour and marked each with a towering monolithic pillar, with or without the crowning animal figures. The Barhut scenes go to show that the pillar set up at Bodh Gayā was crowned by the figure of an elephant carrying a garland, and that at Kusinārā by the lion-statues. The models of the Stūpa shown are of the same general pattern. In them, the railing appears as a mere architectural design at the cylindrical base, and there is no indication as to its having any openings or gateways. The same holds true of the five Stūpa symbols, one occurring in a Quadrant rail panel[1], one in a Quadrant pillar[2], and three on E. Gateway[3].

(II) [The Stūpa and Tomb compared] :—The Stūpa is classed in Buddhist literature as a Śārīrika chaitya or sepulchral sanctuary enshrining the charred bones or ashes from the funeral pyre of a deceased hero. The Buddhist hero is a Buddha or a Thera, the greatest hero being the Buddha himself. The Singhalese word denoting this class of sanctuaries is Dāgaba, which is a shorter form of Dhātugarbha. The Dhātugarbha strictly denotes the underground, inner or lower chamber containing the relic-casket or steatite-box, and the Stūpa the upper structure or covering mound. Thus as in one case the whole sanctuary is denoted by the name of the upper structure, so in the other the name of the lower or inner structure denotes the whole. The word Stūpa is the Buddhist Sanskrit form of the Pāli Thūpa. The origin of the form Thūpa can be traced back to an Indo-European word like Tumba, from which the English Tomb or the French Tombe has been derived. According to this connexion, the Stūpa is nothing but a Tomb or tumulus. But in spite of this kinship, the Stūpa considered as a Buddhist sanctuary and the Tomb as a Christian sepulchral structure represent two different lines on which tumulus or mound has developed. The custom behind the Stūpa is cremation, and the custom which is bound up with the Tomb is burial. The transition from the latter to the former is a long step.

The Tomb is essentially a mound covering a grave in which the actual dead body is buried. The body within the grave may be either directly covered by the clods of earth, the particles of sand or the pieces of stone and brick, or put inside a coffin or life-size box or cylinder of wood or stone. The body may be interred as mere body, or it may be washed and embalmed, wrapped up in cloth, dressed up, adorned with jewellery, honoured with flowers and garlands, and provided with personal belongings and necessaries, as a tribute and mark of affection, either out of a

[1] Scene No. 25 (j) [2] Scene No. 58 [3] Scene No. 13

pure æsthetic feeling of taste, or owing to a superstitious fear of visits and oppressions from the disembodied spirits, or on account of a human compassion for the helpless condition of the deceased. With the elaboration of protective mechanism, there may be a tomb within a tomb, a grave within a grave, and a coffin within a coffin. Here the desire to protect the body by all possible means from destruction, mutilation, shame and insult is persistent throughout, and the hoarding of jewellery is a side-issue.

The Stūpa is essentially a mound covering a garbha or chamber in which the bodily remains are deposited. The remains consist of the charred bones and ashes from the funeral pyre where the dead body is burnt. These, as deposited in the chamber, may be covered with the heap of earth, sand, stone or brick, or secured inside a large stone-box along with precious metals and small gold-leaves, or separately in urns. The urn in a Buddhist sanctuary is represented by a vase of crystal or ordinary stone, covered by a lid and inscribed with a label recording whose bodily remains the contents are. Here the hoarding of treasures[1] takes the place of the preservation of the body. In covering the chamber with a mound, the offerings of flowers, garlands and burning oil-lamps are made in honour of the relics. The implication is that the relics are not only deposited but enshrined. With the elaboration of hoarding and enshrining mechanism, there may be a mound within a mound, a chamber within a chamber, a box within a box, and an urn within an urn. The jewels and coins are deposited with the express purpose of enabling the pooer kings to repair or rebuild the shrine. The fiction of the burial of a warrior-hero continues to play its part. The erection of the sanctuary proceeds on the lines of the building of a fort, surrounded by walls and ramparts, and supervised by a military guard. The towers and gateways, as well as the representations of achievements of heroes are external features of the art of fort-building. In passing the custom of burial through the fire of funeral pyre, the superstitious elements in it are sought to be eliminated and the æsthetic elements separated and cast into brighter forms.

The processes of elimination and sublimation were tried along both the lines, in the one by retaining the earlier custom of burial and preserving the actual body, and in the other by introducing the system of burning and hoarding the remains of the pyre together with other treasures. But the animistic beliefs, the superstitious fears, natural weaknesses and primitive sentiments were persistent among the people at large. The screen of fire of the funeral pyre served only to separate these elements,

[1] The very expression dhātu-nidhāna suggests it. The phrase nidhiṃ nāma nidheti means 'hoards the treasure'.

keeping some on one side to do their work as before, and passing some to the other side to improve the quality of art. The burial aspect of the Stūpa continued to be associated with primitive beliefs, rites and practices. It will be interesting to examine the Indian literary evidence in this connexion.

In a Pāli Canonical passage the Buddha is said to have made a statement referring to the bleaching of bones (aṭṭhi-dhopana) as a rite prevalent in southern countries (i.e., in South India). In explaining the rite Buddhaghosha says that in some of the countries (i.e., among some of the aboriginal tribes) when a man died, his body was not cremated but buried in a grave. When the body was sufficiently decomposed, the bones were dug out of the grave and left to dry up after being washed and rubbed with aromatic substances. A lucky day was fixed for the celebration of the mourning festival. On the selected site the bones were arranged on one side and wine and other things on the other. The kinsmen of the deceased person assembled there, and drank wine and wept[1]. Here the custom is that of burial, the bones are the objects of preservation, the behaviour is characterised by drunkenness and savagery, and the weeping is a natural expression of sorrow.

Now take a case where cremation is the custom. The Sujāta-Jātaka (F. 352) relates that a landowner since the day of his father's death was filled with sorrow, and taking his bones from the place of cremation he erected an earth-mound in his pleasure-garden, and depositing the remains there, he visited the place from time to time, adorned the tope with flowers and studiously lamented, neglecting his daily duties and personal comforts. Though here the custom is one of cremation and the man is a member of the Aryan or cultured community, he is said to have lamented, being subject to natural weakness and subconsciously under the superstitious belief that his weeping might bring back the departed soul, and he was not cured of this foolery until his wise son, the Bodhisat Sujāta, convinced him of the fact that his weeping was less availing as a means of bringing back into life the deceased whose body was burnt down than feeding a dead cow whose body still remained[2].

Then consider a case where the custom is burial. The Ṛig-Vedic hymn (X. 18) gives a vivid description of the funeral of a warrior. It appears that the dead body was carried to the funeral ground by one path, the path of death, and the party returned by another, the path of life. The wife of the deceased hero followed the dead body, accompanied by ladies, the ladies who were not widows walking ahead. The earth was dug out to make a grave. The spot was surrounded by an enclosoure

Sumaṁgala-Vilāsinī, I. pp. 84-85. [2] Scene No. 114.

(paridhi), by a stone-rampart (pāshāṇa) as Sāyaṇa interprets it.[1] The wife of the hero was urged by the priest to go back, together with other ladies, to the world of mirth and joy and begin her life anew. The circle of stone is set up as a device to separate the world of living ones from that of the dead, the priest's interpretation changing the original motive of guarding the grave and imprisoning the ghost. But this was also put up as a memorial, the kinsmen of the hero being exhorted by the priest to keep alive his tradition and continue his work for their prosperity and glory. The bow was taken off from the hand of the hero for preservation as a source of inspiration to the nation. The body was afterwards gently laid in the grave and covered with the heap of earth marked with a post (sthūṇa). The mother-earth was asked to hold her son in her bosom, not allowing the heap or mound above him to press him heavily, and the tomb was intended to serve as a mansion and a monument. Though here the custom is burial, the rites and prayers, the motives and expressions are of an Aryan or exalted character, breathing as they do a high moral tone.

It is well observed that the topes were not especially Buddhist monuments, but, in fact, pre-Buddhistic, and indeed only a modification of a world-wide custom.[2] There are clear evidences showing that certain sections of the Aryan community began to make them solid brick structures instead of heaps of earth, or of stones covered with earth[3], and that the urn (asthikumbha), containing the bones and ashes and covered by a lid, came to be buried after the dead body had been burnt.[4] On being asked how his body should be disposed of, the Buddha said that it should be done in a royal manner. The Mahākapi-Jātaka (F. 407) gives an account of the obsequies of a king. The ladies of the royal harem came to the funeral ground, as retinue for the deceased king, with red garments, dishevelled hair and torches in their hands. The ministers made a funeral pile with a hundred waggon loads of wood. On the spot where the body was burnt a shrine was erected and honoured for seven days with offerings of incense and flowers. The burnt skull, inlaid with gold, was put at the king's gate, raised on the spear-like staff serving as royal insignia (kuntagge) and was honoured. Then taking it as a relic, another shrine was built and honoured with incense and garlands.

---

[1] Mahidhara in commenting upon the Yajurveda hymn (XXXV. 15), says that after the burning of the body, the duty of the priest was to raise a bank or lump of earth between the village where the deceased dwelt and the funeral ground, as a rampart against death. See Wilson's Ṛig-Veda Saṃhitā, (Vol. VI. p. 47. f. n. 4.)

[2] Buddhist India, p. 80, A History of Fine Art In India And Ceylon. p. 14.

[3] White Yajurveda. XXXV. 15.

[4] Āśvalāyaṇa Gṛihya-Sūtra, IV. 5. Sāyaṇa on the Ṛig-Veda hymn (X. 18).

It is well suggested : "The first step was probably merely to build the cairn more carefully than usual, with stones, and to cover the outside with fine chunam plaster to give it a marble-like surface[1]. The next was to build the cairn of concentric layers of the huge bricks in use at the time, and to surround the whole with a wooden railing."[2]

The heroes over whose graves, funeral pyres or bodily remains the shrines were raised were all as yet 'deceased persons of distinction, either by birth or wealth or official position,' the chief of them being warrior the king overlord. The mounds built in honour of their memory were all as yet looked upon as monuments of victory. The presiding deities of such shrines built on four sides of the cities like Vesāli, Malla and Āḷavaka, were all Yakshas or dreaded personalities among the luminaries, the elemental forces, the inanimate things, the animate forms, the animals on land and in water, the savage tribes and civilised men. They were at the same time all entombed eponymic and deified heroes from the members of ruling class, tribes and nations sought to derive their strength and inspiration. Though the basic idea was hero-worship, the Yaksha-shrines built beside the Yaksha-mansions were all believed to have been possessed by the disembodied spirits and haunted by the ghosts of these heroes. The elements of superstitious dread clang on to these shrines which were evidently tombs over the prehistoric graves in which the heroes were buried together with their jewels and hoardings. Though the mode of worship became imperceptibly Brahmanical or priestly, the heroes continued to be remembered in tradition and myth of the people at large as their own leaders, and religious offerings and worship at tombs enshrining their memory and bodily remains regarded as a way of producing the permanent mental attitude to remain loyal to the glorious tradition of the past and not to depart therefrom. When, in course of time, the kings and nobles became the leaders of thought, or reformers, or philosophers, they were claimed by the people at large as their own teachers, much to the detriment of the interest of the priests who traded by mediation between men on one side and the unseen and invisible world of spirits on the other. A passage in the Divyāvadāna supplies a typical case where the Brahmin priests as a class are represented as so much opposed to this mode of worship that the bankers who wanted to build a Stūpa inspite of the opposition, but were fewer in number, that they had to seek the protection of the king and complete their project under the guard of the royal army.[3] The development of the art of building this class of shrines took a new

---

[1] Cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 381 : chakre stūpāṇāṃ śāradābhraprabhāṇāṃ, "made the topes that shone like the autumnal clouds". [2] Buddhist India, p. 80. [3]. Divyāvadāna, pp. 243-244. "The priestly records carefully ignore these topes"—Buddhist India, p. 82.

turn and followed a direction which went to overshadow warrior the king by warrior the teacher. In the history of this development the Buddha was certainly the greatest landmark. What is the new turn that it took and what the direction that it followed? Hitherto the mounds were built and shrines honoured as monuments of victory. Henceforth they were intended to serve as monuments of victory in defeat.

In a Buddhist sanctuary with the mound in its centre, the carvings and frescoes, depicting various scenes from the Buddha's life, and the temples and niches containing the images illustrative of the formal modes of various meditative moods, and all placed in the outer zone, added as ornaments or decorative designs, full of lesson and artistic value. From the artists' point of view these are various expressions of refined human imagination and finer emotion, and in the devotees' perception these appear as representations of the actual and possible achievements in human life. The central structure towering with its imposing sight is but a device to preserve and enshrine the bones and ashes from the funeral pyre where the body of the Buddha or that of a disciple after death was cremated. There are old inscriptions or epitaphs, incised on the relic-caskets and recording when, by whom, and whose remains were enshrined. The famous Piprawa Vase Inscription, found in Nepal Terrai, records :—

Iyaṁ salila-nidhane Budhasa Bhagavate Sakiyanaṁ
sukiti bhatinaṁ sabhaginikanaṁ saputadalanaṁ.

"This enshrinement of the relic[1] of Buddha the Blessed Lord is a meritorious work of (his) Sākyan brothers (accomplished jointly) with their sisters and wives and children."[2]

The expression "salila-nidhane"[3], occuring in it signifies that the Buddha's body exactly like that of any other man, was subject to decay and consumable by fire. There are passages where he is represented as saying that he was anyhow dragging his worn-out body, like a cart after careful repairing. The presence of hair, nail, bone, tooth, and the rest indicates that he had a human form. The legends and traditions, the sculptures and paintings, the images and inscriptions go to re-

ting of the [illegible]
[illegible] of this has
them even [illegible]
pretation leaves no room fo[illegible]
Buddha himself. Even an alternative interpretation might be offered, construing sukiti-bhatinaṃ as a compound word: "This (is) the enshrinement of the relic of Buddha the Blessed One by (his) virtuous (or illustrious) Sākyan brothers together with their sisters and wives and children". Cf. Barhut Inscriptions, Barua and Sinha No. 165 : Tirami timigila-kuchimha Vasuguto māchito bhagavato mahādevānaṃ,
Here mahādevānaṃ is equivalent in sense to mahādevehi (Instrumental plural)—an instance of pluralis majestatis.

present that he was born under all ideal circumstances of life, and that in all respects he was perfect—as perfect a man could be. And yet the fact remains that he died. The mounds contain the monumental evidence of man's inability to overcome death in spite of all ideal circumstances, opportunities, attainments and perfection. By mere explaining away or mocking at death, the truth about man's inability to overcome it cannot be denied. The fact of the demise and funeral of the Buddda decides once for all that the denial of it is a mere act of fancy and frenzy, and all attempts to deny it are a bad bargain and a hopeless muddle. The bold proclamation of this truth is the obvious Buddhist motive behind the Stūpa. The same truth is confirmed by the history of Barhut Stūpa itself. The putting of the relics in covered caskets marked the stage of conception[1]; putting of the casket within a stone box that of birth; the covering of the box by a brick-structure that of infancy; the rise of this structure above the ground like the bubble above the surface of water (bubbulākāra) that of childhood; the completion of the mound in an oval shape (aṇḍākāra), that of adolescence; the superimposition of the crowning construction with umbrellas in a bell shape (ghaṇṭākāra) and encompassing it by a stone-railing with figures of the demi-gods and demi-goddesses keeping guard that of youth and coronation; the addition of the returns with the lion-statues guarding the approaches or outer arms with the frowning fingers that of manhood and fear of attacks; the erection of ornamented archways and completion of sculptural representations that of maturity and victory; the addition of an outer railing and construction of the flights of steps that of decline and old age; the inroads of Islamic forces that of death[2]; and the visit of Cunningham that of final dissolution.

(12) The Barhut Stūpa as a creation of art represents a distinct form or type. The Stūpas at Sāñchi and Sonārī, in short, all the Bhilsa topes belong to this type. The models produced by the Barhut artists can be taken as faithful representations of the forms known to them at the time or they imagined what they ought to be. The scenes of relic-procession represent how the casket containing the remains of the funeral pyre in it was carried to the site where it was deposited. One of the Pillar full medallions contains a geometrical symbol, which may be taken to represent the ground plan of the brick-mound. It shows that the layers of large bricks were so

[1] The expression dhātu-oropaṇa suggests the allegory of planting the seed, no doubt, of the tree of art, the tree of faith and culture.

[2] Here it is not the implication that the Muhammadan invaders were directly the agents of destruction of this particular sanctuary. The Muhammadan invasion wiped out the Buddhist influence, and left none to take proper care of it. See Vincent A. Smith's History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon, p. 73.

arranged as to illustrate various permutations and combinations of Svastikas[1]. The forms changed or were modified with times and according to localities, the process being one of differentiation or harmonisation between the mound on one hand and the mansion or temple on the other. The tope built by the Śākyan kinsmen of the Buddha over their portion of the remains of his funeral pyre is an earlier example, which is still in ruins and has not as yet been restored[2]. The Ahin Posh tope, restored by Mr. W. Simpson, is a later example, and it shows a long flight of steps in front, leading up to the dome[3].

Buddhaghosha gives the following description of the tope built by, and during the reign, of King Ajātasatru for hoarding the relics in one place (dhātu-nidhāna). His description is evidently coloured by, if not actually based upon, what he saw at Thūpārāma in Ceylon[4]. At the start the bricks were made out of pure earth dug out of a field to the south-east of Rājagriha. The people were told that the king's intention was to build some shrines in honour of the eighty great Disciples. When the cavity had been dug so deep as 80 cubits, the bed was metalled with iron, and upon it was built a chamber of copper and iron of the same dimension as the shrine of Thūpārāma. In this chamber were placed eight mound-shaped relic-boxes of white sandal, containing the relics of the Buddha. Each of these was put within seven other boxes of red sandal, of ivory, and the like, the uppermost one being made of crystal. All these were covered up by three chambers, one within another, the uppermost one of copper and iron serving as the upper half of the chamber-box. Having scattered sand with seven precious metals, one thousand lotus flowers growing on land and in water were strewn over it. Five hundred and fifty Jātaka-illustrations and the figures of eighty great Disciples and those of Suddhodana and Mahāmāyā as well as those of seven comrades were made all in gold. Five thousand gold and silver jars filled with water were set up, five hundred golden flags were hoisted, five hundred golden lamps and silver lamps of equal number were filled with fragrant oil and provided with wick on two sides. The Venerable Mahākāsyapa sanctified them, saying, "Let these garlands never wither, let this fragrance never vanish and let these lamps never become extinct." A prophesy was inscribed on a gold-plate to the effect that King Asoka would in time to come spread these relics far and wide. The king having honoured the relics with all kinds of jewellery, came out shutting the doors one by one. The door of the copper-and-iron chamber was sealed, and upon it was placed a piece of precious gem with an inscription, authorising the poorer kings to honour

[1] Scene No. 23 (e). [2] Buddhist India, p. 133. [3] Buddhist India, p. 83.
[4] Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed., Part II, pp. 271-276.

the relics with its aid. Thereafter Śakra sent Viśvakarmā to do all that was needed to protect the hoarded relics. He set up traps to keep off wild animals (vāḷasaṅghāṭa-yanta), surrounded the relic-chamber (dhātugabbha) by a wooden enclosure with wooden posts carved with the figures of soldiers holding swords (asihatthāni kaṭṭharūpakāni), and encircled the same by stone in the manner of a brick-structure. After having thrown dust-heap over it, and levelled the ground, a stone-mound was built covering it. When King Aśoka opened this tope after 218 years, he saw the oil-lamps burning as though they were just now lit up, and the lotus-flowers fresh as though they were just now gathered and offered.

The story of Dharmaruchi in the Divyāvadāna contains the description of another example of a tope. Here the tope, among other details, is said to have four stair-cases with steps leading, layer after layer, up to the dome with a crowning construction, surmounted by an umbrella, inlaid with all precious metals. On its four sides there were four doorways and four shrines, one containing the representation of the scene of birth, and the fourth that of demise of the Buddha[1].

(13) There are a few other examples of Yaksha scenes and figures that do not bear labels recording names of the demigods, or survive only in fragments. Among the figures of demigoddesses, one has to note four representations of Śrī[2] and two of Sirimā[3]. Śrī is represented as a goddess either seated cross-legged or standing gracefully on a full-blown lotus in the midst of a lotus-shrub, being anointed with water from two jars held over her head by two elephants from two sides, standing on two lotus flowers. The shrub grows out of an ornamented water-pot. The representation in which the goddess is seated cross-legged with joined hands held under her breast fills one of the Quadrant Rail medallions, and of the remaining three representations where the goddess remains standing, two fill two full medallions on a Return Pillar and one occupies a Return Coping panel. Āśā (Hope), Sraddhā (Faith), Hrī (Modesty) and Śrī (Beauty) are the four sister Graces, the daughters of Sakra. They are the northern or Aryan goddesses or poetic personifications of abstract conceptions, of tender aspects of the Divine Being. Here they represent the artistic forms adored by the lotus-shaped human heart, placed under the apex of two elephant-like lungs, touching each other at a point. Sirimā is represented either standing with even feet on a level ground or on a straight roof, either holding a dhuturā flower or a bunch of lotus. Śrīmatī, Yaśamatī, Lakshmīmatī or Yaśaḥprāptā and Yaśodharā are mentioned as four goddesses in the realm of Virūḍhaka. Their prominent hips and

[1] Divyāvadāna, p. 244. [2] Scenes Nos. 79-80. [3] Scenes Nos. 7, 78.

heaving busts are expressive of the power of production and feeding. They represent concrete embodiments of the ideal house-wife, and as a type they are eastern or southern, eastern because Siri as Sirimā is also connected with Dhritarāshṭra the Sirima.

Among other notable representations, the figure of Gaṅgā and that of a lotus-nymph cannot but strike attention. Gaṅgā is represented as a goddess riding on an elephant-faced crocodile on the surface of a large river, where one can see here and there the lotus shrub with flowers[1]. The Lotus-nymph remaining waiting with a large harp in her hands. Sarasvatī, the goddess of science and art, appears to have been in her earlier representation but a Lotus-nymph, the invention of the harp marking a great step in the history of human culture[2].

(14) The existing carvings or fragrants contain full representations or bear traces of not less than twenty-five uninscribed Jātaka-scenes illustrating the stories of the past. These together with the inscribed ones can be tabulated as follows[3] :—

Plate in Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut if not otherwise mentioned.			Name and number of Jātaka in Fausboll's edition, if the story is not a different one.
XXXIV. 1	...	...	Vaṇṇupatha (2)
XLVIII. 2	...	...	Makhādeva (9)
XLIII. 12	...	...	Nigrodhamiga (12)
XLIV. 8	...	...	Tipallatta (16)
XLVI. 1	...	...	Bhojājāniya (23)
XXVII. 11	...	...	Nachcha (32)
Indian Museum 60	...	...	Kaṇha (29)
XXVII. 15	...	...	Sammodamāna (33)
XLV. 7	...	...	Kapota (42, 375) ; (Lola (274), Kāka (395)
XLV. 5	...		Ārāmadūsaka (46)
		...	Ārāmadūsa (268)
XXVI. 8	...	...	Aṇḍabhūta (62)
XLV. 9	...	...	Litta (91)
XLVII. 9	...	...	Asilakkhaṇa (126)

[1] Scene No. 77. [2] Scene No. 81.
[3] Compare the list in Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, Serg ed' Oldenbourg's Table in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. XVIII, 1897, Rhys Davids' Table in Buddhist India, p, 209, Hultzsch's list in J. R. A. S, 1912.

Plate in Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, if not otherwise mentioned.	Name and number of Jātaka in Fausboll's edition, if the story is not a different one.
Indian Museum 114	Indasamānagotta (161)
	Mittāmitta (197)
XXPIII. 7	Makkaṭa (173)
XLVI. 8	Dābhiyamakkaṭa (174)
XXVII. 13 Cunningham's Photograph	Asadisa (181)
XXXII. 4	Saṅgāmāvachara (182)
Indian Museum 9 (26) b	Valāhassa (196)
XLIV. 4	Gahapati (199)
XXVII. 9	Kuruṅgamiga (206)
XLVIII. 4	Mūlapariyāya (245)
XLII. 1	Maṇikaṇṭha (253)
XXV. 2	Kakkaṭa (267)
XLIII. 4	Vyaggha (272)
XXVII. 10	Vaka (300)
Missing	Suchchaja (320)
XLI. 1, 3	Chammasāṭaka (324)
XIV	Kaṇḍari (341)
	Episode in Kuṇāla (536)
XLIV. 6	Ambachora (344)
Indian Museum 29 (2) b	Gajakumbha (345)
XLVII. 3	Sujāta (352)
Missing	Dhonasākha (353)
XLVII. 7	Uraga (354)
XXVI. 5	Laṭukikā (357)
XLIII. 8	Migapotaka (372)
XLVII. 5	Kukkuṭa (383)
XLI. 5	Sūchi (387)
XLVI. 2	Dabbhapuppha (400)
XXXIII. 4	Mahākapi (407)
XV.	Samugga (436)
XLIII. 6, XLVIII. 6	Mātiposaka (455)
XXVIII. 12	Episode in Takkāriya (481)
XXV. 1	Ruru (482)

Plate in Cunningham's Stūpa of Bharhut, if not otherwise mentioned.	Name and number of Jātaka in Fausboll's edition, if the story is not a different one.
XX	Chandakinnara (485)
XLVIII. 7	Bhisa (488)
XXVI. 6	Chhaddanta (514)
XXXIII. 7	Mahākapi (516)
XLVI. 4	Sarabhaṅga (522)
XXVI. 7	Alambūsā (523)
	Nalinikā (526)
XXVII. 14	Mahābodhi (528)
XLV. 3	Kusa (531)
XXV. 4	Mūgapakkha (539)
XLIV. 2	Episode in Mahājanaka (540)
XVIII	Vidhūrapaṇḍita (545)
XXV. 3	Episode in Mahāummagga (546)
Indian Museum 116	Kurudhamma (276)
	Episode in Vessantara (547)
Fragment	Some unknown Jātaka
XV, XXX. 2.	Mahāvāṇija (493)
XLII. 7	Madhupiṇḍika story in Apadāna (97)
XLVIII. 9.	Vaḍikavastu in Avadānaśataka
XLII. 9	Chullakaseṭṭhi (4)
XXXIV. 3	Kokasunakhavatthu in Dhammapada-Commentary
XXXIII. 1-3	Giant and Monkeys
XL. 2-5	Some story of Hell

(15) The Barhut carvings illustrating the stories of the present and those of the past represent a distinct Jātaka-Selection with a sketch of the life of the Buddha, which presupposes an earlier collection of legends and stories, known at the time. The largest collection of Birth-stories working out a comprehensive scheme of the life of the Buddha is the Pāli Jātaka-Commentary. It is doubtful if the earlier Pāli Canonical collection of 500 ballads contained any stories of the present. There are several Jātaka-Selections in Buddhist literature. According to a tradition in the Dīpavaṁsa, each school of Buddhist Schismatics abandoned the original authorised

collection and made a selection suiting its purpose[1]. But Pāli literature itself contains sufficient evidence to show that the Sthaviras themselves made selections, or conceived schemes for selections. These Selections and their schemes developed on three different lines : (1) comprising only the stories of the present, (2) comprising only the stories of the past, and (3) including both. The Barhut sketch of the life of the Buddha is based upon the legends and stories that mostly correspond to those in Pāli. Some of the special legends containing the stories of the present correspond to certain episodes in the Lalita-Vistara which is known to be a Sarvāstivāda work[2]. The legends and stories in the Mahāvastu which is known to be the first work of the Vinaya-Piṭaka of the Lokottaravāda section of the Mahāsaṅghikas[3] can be altogether dispensed with except for explaining some points in two scenes[4]. The story of Dharmaruchi in the Divyāvadāna and the Avadānakalpalatā is essential in explaining the details of the scene of Vasugupta being rescued from the grip of the Timiṅgila[5]. Similarly the story of Mahākapi in Āryaśūra's Jātakamālā and that of Vaḍika in the Avadānaśataka are indispensable in describing and identifying two other scenes[6]. The Lalita-Vistara, the Divyāvadāna, the Avadānakalpalatā, the Jātakamālā and the Avadānaśataka can all be taken to represent broadly the Sarvāstivāda tradition. On a closer examination it will be found that the scenes based upon the legends corresponding to those in the Lalita-Vistara appear mostly on some of the Return pillars which were evidently later additions made probably during the reign of King Dhanabhūti. The influx of the tradition of the Sarvāstivāda school can be easily accounted for, if one remembers that Mathurā was in the 2nd or 1st century B. C. one of the strongholds of its adherents. But there can be no denying the fact that the Sarvāstivāda legends and stories were accommodated within a scheme prepared by the Sthaviras. The Barhut Coping panels alternately represent the effort of the Bodhisat made in each birth and the fruition that followed. The fruition is represented by a peculiar grouping of fruits and flower ornaments. These broadly fall into ten classes, each class symbolising a particular Pāramitā. It is well-known that all the schools but that of the Sthaviras recognised only six Pāramitās, and none but the Sthaviras recognised ten. This, too, may be treated as an independent evidence showing that the Barhut scheme was that of the Sthaviras. When Hwen Thsang visited India in the 7th century A. D., he saw adherents of different schools residing in the same Saṅghārāma[7], and it is a legitimate inference that 'the acrimony of their early hostile relations diminished a good deal at the time'[8].

[1] Dīpavaṃsa, Chapters IV and V. [2] Nanjio's Catalogue No. 163. [3] Mahāvastu, Senart's edition, I. p. 2.
[4] Scenes Nos. 69 and 109. [5] Scene No. 85. [6] Scenes Nos. 122 and 144.
[7] Wattes' Yuan Chwang, I. p. 279. [8] Scene No. 10.

The Barhut carvings go to prove that such reconciliations were a much earlier process in the history of Buddhism.

(15) The Barhut Jātaka-scenes are important as indicating the existence of a collection of Birth-stories. One of the Pāli Canonical books, namely, the Chulla-Niddesa refers to a collection of 500 stories (pañcha Jātaka-satāni)[1]. The reference is apparently to the Canonical Jātaka book, included in the Sutta-Piṭaka. The stories presupposed by the carvings differ in details from those in the Sutta-Piṭaka collection, and approach those in the Jātaka-Commentary, compiled in the 5th century A. D., if not later. When this was compiled, the traditional total of the Birth-stories was 550. Buddhaghosha himself knew this to be the total number. But when Fa Hian visited Ceylon in the early part of the 5th century A. D., he saw representations of 500 Birth-stories round the Abhayagiri monastery. This number tallies with the total given in the Chulla-Niddesa. The Commentary edited by Fausboll is the Jātaka-atthavaṇṇanā which refers to an earlier Sinhalese Commentary, the Jātakāṭṭhakathā with which Buddhaghosha was acquainted. In Fausboll's edition the Commentary collection contains 547 Jātakas, falling short of the later traditional total by just three stories. The following are the processes whereby the number increased from 500 to 550 :—

(a) Repetition of the same story under the same or different title e.g., Kapota (F. 42), Lola (F. 274), Kapota (F. 375) and Kāka (F. 395) ; Indasamānagotta (F. 161) and Mittāmitta (F. 197) ; Bhojājānīya (F. 23) and Ājañña (F. 24) ; Ārāmadūsaka (F. 46) and Ārāmadūsa (F. 268) ; Losaka (F. 41), Mittavinda (F. 82). Mittavinda (F. 104), Mittavinda (F. 369) and Chatudvāra (F. 439) ; Phala (F. 54) and Kimpakka (F. 85) ; Nandivisāla (F. 28) and Sārambha (F. 88) ; Parosahassa (F. 99), Parosata (F. 101), Jhānasodhana (F. 134) and Chandābha (F. 135) Sāketa (F. 68) and Sāketa (F. 237) ; Mahāpanāda (F. 264) and Suruchi (F. 489) ; Ekarāja (F. 303) and Maṇikuṇḍala (F. 351) Kākāti (F. 327) and Sussondi (F. 360) ; Akataññu (F. 90) and Hiri (F. 363) ; Makkaṭa (F. 173) and Kapi (F. 250).

(b) Repitition of the same story conveying slightly different morals, e.g., Kharādiya (F. 15) and Tipallattha (F. 16) ; Vānarinda (F. 57) and Kumbhīla (F. 224).

(c) Repetition of the same story with the change in the personnel, e.g., Ruchira (F. 275) and Kapota (F. 42) ; Ghata (F. 355) and Ekarāja

[1] Chulla-Niddesa, p. 80.

(F. 303); Veḷuka (F. 43) and Indasamānagotta (F. 161); Migapotaka (F. 372) and Somadatta (F. 410).

(d) Manipulation of different stories to impress the same moral e. g., Sujāta (F. 352), Matarodana (F. 317), Ananusochaniya (F. 328) and Maṭṭakuṇḍali (F. 449).

(e) Development of different stories with the same plot, e.g., Kurudhamma (F. 276) and Vessantara (F. 547).

(f) Multiplication of the stories with the same hero, e.g., Alambusā (F. 523) and Nalinikā (F. 526); Vidhūra-Paṇḍita (F. 545), Dhūmakāri (F. 413) and Dasabrāhmaṇa (F. 495).

(g) Separation of parts from a whole, e.g., Kakaṅṭaka (F. 170) Sirikālakaṇṇi (F. 192), Devatāpañha (F. 350) Khajjopanaka, Bhūripañha (F. 452), Meṇḍaka (F. 471), Sirimanda (F. 500) and Pañchapaṇḍita (F. 508) from Mahāummagga (F. 546); Kaṇḍari (F. 341), Chulla-Kuṇāla (F. 464) from Kuṇāla (F. 536); Chatuposathika (F. 441) from Puṇṇaka or Vidhūra-Paṇḍita (F. 545).

(16) The scene of sufferings of sinners in a hell is rather out of place, having no intimate connection with the Barhut Jātaka-scheme. It is assigned a place only in an outer arm, in the four Return Coping panels. A man and a woman are represented as suffering torments for the uncondoned sin of poisoning innocent people, the little boy and the little girl who were children of the woman. The particular hell where they are in this plight is Kakola-niraya, the infernal region in which the wild crow, the kite, the vulture and such other birds victimise the unfortunate sinners. The conception is anthropomorphic, the picture of the hell reminding one of the fate of corpses thrown away or of criminals left standing, bound hand and foot, in a charnel-field, infested with the carnivorous birds. The use of stories or pictures of sufferings in hells as a means of deterring men from sinful acts was against the spirit of early Buddhism, and the general spirit of this religion. The representations of stories of persons enjoying a glorious life in a heaven as a moral incentive were tried on a large scale. The glorious life in heaven (sagga-kathā) is one of the topics which the monks were asked by the Buddha to dwell upon in instructing the householders. The Suttanta-Jātakas representing the Birth-stories in their earliest forms illustrate living examples of persons whom the gods were proud to welcome into their celestial mansions. The inscriptions of Aśoka bear out the Buddhist emperor's keen interest in inducing his subjects and the whole of mankind by holding out prospects of immediate reward here. These also proclaim the emperor's boast of success in bring-

ing the gods and men together. The Petavatthu or Book of Stories of Hell itself was a post-Mauryan composition[1], and at the same time a literary offshoot of the Vimānavatthu or Book of Stories of Heaven. The art of general persuasion of the people to be moral and pious by means of narrations and pictures of glories of heavenly life, and of checking the tyrants and sinners by means of grim stories of sufferings in hell is pre-Buddhistic and it was successfully tried by the hermits and wandering ascetics. Painting had, of course, its full share in the task. It is certain that some of the ascetics made a powerful appeal by means of pictures illustrating the terrible fate of sinners in hell and the happy lot of pious men in heaven. These pictures as means of popular instruction served the purpose of modern lantern slides or films. There arose and existed in the country a distinct class of teachers and friar-like Brahmin ascetics who took up this kind of instruction as their exclusive profession. They were known to the Buddhists as Nakhas and to the Jainas as Maṅkhas. Their usual way was to wander about with a variety of pictures caused to be drawn upon a portable frame-work, depicting scenes of good and bad destinies, of fortunes and misfortunes, with labels inscribing 'By doing this deed one attains this', and 'By doing that one experiences that'[2]. In the Mudrārākshasa and the Harshacharita these Yamapaṭas or Death-pictures are associated with the Kshapaṇakas or Naked ascetics. The tradition of this art survives in modern Indian paintings. The pictures of this class are aptly designated in Buddhist literature as charaṇa or karaṇa chitra, the rambling or improvised pictures that were praised by the Buddha himself as the best example of pictorial art[3]. One of the legends in the Divyāvadāna[4] clearly shows how the bas-reliefs and frescoes replaced these earlier paintings in later Buddhism. In order that all other Bhikshus might become as great a leader and eloquent a preacher as Mahāmaudgalyāyaṇa, the Buddha is said to have suggested : "The wheel of life with five divisions should be represented on the doorway (of the Veṇuvana monastery), showing the five destinies of men, namely, those typified by the infernal creatures, the brute, the departed spirits, the gods and the human beings. In the lowest division are to be shown thei nfernal creatures, the brute world and the departed spirits ; in the upper division the gods, men and the four continents (Pūrvavideha, Aparagodānīya, Uttarakuru and Jambudvīpa) ; in the middle parts Passion, Hatred and Delusion,—

[1] Buddhist India, p. 176.

[2] Sāratha-Pakāsinī, Siamese Ed., Part II, p. 398 ; Barua's History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy, Gārgyāyaṇa's Ethics ; Stella Kramrisch's Vishṇudharmottara, p. 5.

[3] On all these and other points, see Barua's monograph on Books of Stories of Heaven and Hell forming the Appendix of B. C. Law's Heaven and Hell in Buddhist Perspective, Calcutta, 1925.

[4] Divyāvadāna, pp. 300-303.

Passion in the form of a pigeon, Hatred in that of a serpent, Delusion in that of a boar, as well as the Buddha-image, the circle of Nirvāṇa, and the chance-born beings, the last as rising and falling in the form of the rope-and-bucket of a well; while surrounding all is to be engraved the Buddhist Wheel of Life, divided into 12 segments and revolving forwards and backwards. The representations must set forth concrete examples of the different ways and actions leading persons along these destinies. The Wheel of Life must be accompanied by the inscription recording the two verses urging—

"Proceed, O man, come out, and flock to Buddha's standard,
Shatter Death's legion, as elephant tramples house of reed, not hard".

61. Special use of Gesture :—All the Jātaka-scenes and decorative designs, taken together, represent the special use of Gesture. The Jātaka-scenes contain representations of several interesting details of Indian life. These set forth rocky mountains, hills and precipices, forests and woodlands, lakes and rivers, seas and deserts, tanks and wells, cities and hermitages, towns and villages, parks and groves, gardens and funeral grounds, land and water, beasts and birds, reptiles and insects, fishes and flies, trees and creepers, shrubs and bushes, flowers and fruits, stones and jewels, men and women, apparels and ornaments, marks and signs, caves and mansions, weapons and conveyances, and sorrows and amusements as physical features and natural environments. The forests abound in fauna and flora, and the woodlands afford feeding grounds. Whether lakes or rivers, seas or deserts, parks or forests, there is not a region in nature which is not both a scene of life and of death, of peace and of disturbance, of security and of danger.

In one scene, the tigers in a body appear in a woodland to victimise a herd of deer that have found there a grazing ground.[1] In a second, the crane-like birds are catching small fishes, swallowing insects or eating seaweeds on the outer end of a strip of land under water during the high tide of a large river.[2] In a third, a she-cat offers herself to be the loving wife of a cock on a tree-top, meaning to induce him to come down, be within her reach and killed.[3] In a fourth, a wild duck is swallowing a large fish in a lake, and a monster crab is at a tug-of-war with a mighty elephant, the former forcibly dragging the latter towards it for its food and the latter with the help of his mate pulling the former up to crush it under his feet.[4] In a fifth, the cranes or ducks move about in a lotus-lake in search of food, while a fox lies in wait or rushes forward to seize them.[5] In a

[1] Scene No. 108. [2] Scene No. 69. [3] Scene No. 119. [4] Scene No. 107. [5] Scene No. 70.

sixth, two otters on the bank of a river quarrel with each other over the division of a red fish pulled out of water and killed by them, while a clever jackal volunteering to make an equitable division, walks off taking the lion's share and smiling.[1] In a seventh, a fox in a forest follows a bull, intending to kill him, while the bull remaining in water on a marshy ground, skilfully leads the fox to a spot where a man-laid trap (vālasaṇghāṭayanta) was waiting to entrap and hang him up.[2] In an eighth, the monster fish Timiṅgila rises up in sea-water, and remains opening out his jaws after forcing out water from his belly and producing a depression and whirlpool, compelling the smaller fishes to rush into his mouth and endangering the life of the passengers of the merchant vessels that happened to be within his purview.[3]

There is one scene, in which a primitive hunter pierces with his spear a wild boar, attacked by his two dogs from two sides.[4] There is another, in which a professional hunter of the same savage stock starts with his old-fashioned bow and arrows for the woodland to kill an antelope, for whom he carefully laid a trap near a lake.[5] There is a third, in which a professional fowler, the hunter's weaker cousin, has succeeded in catching some quails with his net.[6] There is a fourth, in which a royal hunter, still retaining his old savage instinct, has made his way into a distant forest, armed with new-fashioned bow and arrows, and is cutting the teeth of a six-tusked elephant with a saw, to collect ivory for a queen at the cost of the noble beast's life.[7] There is a fifth, in which a king has gone into a forest with his large bow and sharp arrows to shoot a deer-king who lived peacefully near a river.[8] There is a sixth, in which one sees a royal camp in a forest guarding a banian tree with delicious fruits and surrounding a troop of monkeys that came to enjoy the bounties of nature.[9] There is a seventh, in which an execution-block has been permanently laid in a royal garden for daily beheading with an axe a forced and apparently willing victim among the imprisoned deer.[10]

Now look into a scene, where a queen takes pride in convincing the king of her maternity[11]. Look into another, where the very idea of the advent of a new child sets the heavenly damsels singing the joy, accompanied by music and dancing[12]. Look into a third, where the angels come down in a body to greet the newly born human child and announce the glory of the world that lies before

Scene No. 121. ² Scene No. 109. ³ Scene No. 85. ⁴ Scene No. 146.
Scene No. 103. ⁶ Scene No. 93. ⁷ Scene No. 123. ⁸ Scene No. 126.
Scene No. 122. ¹⁰ Scene No. 88. ¹¹ Scene No. 133. ¹² Scene No. 34

it[1]. But look into a fourth[2], where a king, ashamed of his son because of his incurable dumbness and lameness, asks the royal charioteer to carry him to a charnel-field and bury him alive. Look, if you have patience, into a fifth, where a wicked housewife poisons the food she cooks to get rid of her husband and conspires with a second man to kill her two children by poison, and that only to suffer a condign punishment here and a severer consequence hereafter[3].

In one scene; the chance of marrying the daughter of golden mallard, the king of birds, makes a peacock rapturously dance, displaying the wealth of his plumage[4]. In another, the voice of a she-elephant induces a monster crab to loosen its grip only to hasten its own destruction[5]. In a third, a Brahmin youth learns wisdom to answer the questions of a Nāga maiden and walks into a large flowing river to reach her[6]. In a fourth, a daring Yaksha, the nephew of Vaiśravaṇa Kuvera, artfully gets possession of Vidūra, the wise Kuru-councillor, carries him through the air and tries to kill him by striking his head against rocks for the sake of a Nāga princess he wanted to marry[7]. In a fifth, the attraction of a Kinnarī compels a king to seize her forcibly and make a shameless offer of love[8]. In a sixth, a young man lies down in a charnel-grove, pretending to be dead, as a means of getting hold of a young woman he loved and had her brought there[9]. In a seventh, a young smith invents some wonderful needles and goes out on a hawking errand for winning the affection of the head-smith's daughter[10].

Now mark the contrast. In one scene, a demon fails to prevent his wife, even by shutting her up in a box, from intriguing with a Vidyādhara[11]. In another, a Brahmin chaplain fails to protect his young wife even by rearing her up from her very birth in strict seclusion[12]. In a third, the headman enters, on the pretext of demanding the price of the cow he lent, into the house of another man of his village in the latter's absence and trembles in fear of detection in spite of the woman's clever attempt to prove his innocence to her husband[13]. In a fourth, a king detects the queen's intrigues and takes her to task for the same[14]. In a fifth, a king, determined to forsake the world, finds it difficult to do so for his queen who has followed him, entreating him to return[15]. In a sixth, at the suggestion of a courtezan and the Brahmin minister, the king believes a hermit to be an ill-luck and trying to get rid of sin on his person humiliates him and brings ruin on himself and his kingdom in consequence[16].

1 Scene No. 37.
2 Scene No. 134.
3 Scene No. 10.
4 Scene No. 91.
5 Scene No. 107.
6 Scene No. 69.
7 Scene No. 136.
8 Scene No. 19.
9 Scene No. 97.
10 Scene No. 120.
11 Scene No. 123.
12 Scene No. 95a.
13 Scene No. 102.
14 Scene No. 112.
15 Scene No. 135.
16 Scene No. 13 a.

This is not all. Here again is a scene, in which a gluttonous crow sitting in the basket kept hanging from the roof of a house for giving shelter to wild pigeons coming as guests, as an expression of human cordiality, conceives a longing for some dishes prepared in the kitchen only to endanger its life by going to taste something which is not its usual food[1]. Here is a second, in which a sharper concealing a dice by swallowing it against the rule of gambling as a means of deceiving, is himself deceived one day as he swallows the dice without knowing that it was rubbed with poison[2]. Here is a third, in which a snake bites and kills on the spot the only son of a Brahmin family, misapprehending his real intention[3]. Here is a fourth, in which, in spite of best intentions, the monkeys destroy the young plants by uprooting them for watering[4]. Here is a fifth, in which a troop of monkeys proceed, as a means of escape from the clutches of a giant, to capture and drag an elephant for extracting his teeth[5]. Here is a sixth, in which the usurper king of Kosala proceeds to invade Kapilavāstu and decimate the Śākyas in spite of their non-violent attitude[6]. Here is a seventh, in which a man breaks the head of a monkey who saves him[7]. Here is an eighth, in which a thirsty monkey returns the kindness of a Brahmin with grimace[8]. Here is a ninth, in which a man ungratefully betrays a deer-king who saves his life at the risk of his own[9]. Here is a tenth, in which an elephant ruthlessly kills an ascetic who rears him as his own son[10]. In the same series there is one, where a ram strikes an ascetic on his thigh, fatally wounding the innocent man who stands showing respect to the beast and expecting the same in return[11]. There is another, where a happy Kinnara couple, captured and brought into the presence of a king, stand trembling in fear of life[12]. There is a third, where a powerful king is guarded by amazonian women in apprehension of danger[13]. There is a fourth, where a poor man is groaning under the weight of a lord of wealth who uses him as a vehicle[14].

In one example, an ascetic who is supposed to be free from personal attachment and sorrow rears a pet deer, and bitterly laments over its loss.[15] In another, a second ascetic who is supposed to be free from all associations sadly misses the warmth of a serpent's embrace[16]. In a third, a third ascetic who is supposed to have foregone all earthly possessions;keeps up an orchard and charges men with theft when the fruit trees are plundered in his absence[17]. In a fourth

---

[1] Scene No. 94. [2] Scene No. 96. [3] Scene No. 116. [4] Scene No. 95.
[5] Scene No. 148. [6] Scene No. 53. [7] Scene No. 129. [8] Scene No. 99.
[9] Scene No. 126. [10] Scene No. 98. [11] Scene No. 111. [12] Scene No. 125. [13] Scene No. 51.
[14] Scene No. 60. [15] Scene No. 118. [16] Scene No. 106. [17] Scene No. 113.

a banghi-load ascetic who is supposed not to care for worldly honour is mortally wounded by a ram as a result of false expectations of courtesy from the brute[1]. In a fifth, a wanderer who is supposed to have no slanderer and no fear of danger because of his innocence and goodness is warned by a dog as he comes to his usual visits to a royal palace intimating that the king, instigated by some interested persons, laid a plan to get rid of him[2].

But look again and observe, how the rose-apple trees, adorning the top of Mt. Naḍoda, supply the human couple in exile with delicious fruits,[3] or how a bushy creeping plant, growing on the same rocky mountain, is filled with juicy balm that serves to heal an obnoxious skin-disease[4]. See that a sandy desert, where the caravan merchants are in distress, contains in its bosom a stream of cool and refreshing water that gushes forth through a hole to quench the thirst of men[5]. Watch how the same Timiṅgila which has endangered the life of the crew and passengers of merchant-vessels serves at last as a protector[6].

Mark how good motives have their play behind bad ones. The appearance of tigers in a grazing ground of deer is a cause of destruction of innocent life of stinking smell, and at the same time their advents are a means of protection of the trees and jungles growing there[7]. The crocodile is undoubtedly the most dreadful agent of destruction of life in a river. This very crocodile appears to be a vehicle of Gaṅgā, the benign deity, who is the custodian of fishes and of the purity of water. The crocodile's presence, ferocity and movements serve to protect the fishes from attacks from outside, to maintain peace and equilibrium in the internal life of the river, as well as to save water from pollution by dead bodies. The movements of crocodiles, fishes and birds suggest the mechanism of the art of ship-building, while the trees cast adrift suggest the nature of required material[8]. The dragon is the most dreadful creature among the dwellers of a lake in the forest. The actual presence of this creature serves to protect the lake from foreign invasions and maintain the tension and equilibrium in its internal life. The creation of a figure of dragon as a work of art and the installation of it in the bottom of a tank at the time of its excavation serve to protect its water from pollution and disturbance[9]. The masked warriors, serving as soldiers, are the dreaded agents employed by the state to protect the people from foreign attacks and maintain internal peace and

1 Scene No. 111.
2 Scene No. 132.
3 Scene No. 140.
4 Scene No. 144.
5 Scene No. 86.
6 Scene No. 85.
7 Scene No. 108.
8 Scene No. 77.
9 Scene No. 83.

order. The figures of Yakshas as a creation of art stand as guards for a sanctuary with all its enshrined precious objects[1].

Now observe, if you are interested, how necessity is the mother of invention and good cometh out of evil. The caravan merchants dying of thirst in a desert, make search for water, and eventually acquire the art of locating the spot where water can be had, and find out the means of having a supply of water by sinking wells[2]. The fascination of a maiden of high family leads a young smith to invent wonderful needles[3]. The earnest desire of a woodpecker to rescue its friend, the antelope, enables it to devise various means.[4] The fear of life leads a troop of monkeys to devise the means of catching a mighty elephant and employing him to serve their purpose.[5] The dispute between two women about the ownership of a bundle of thread gives the banker's son an opportunity to display his power of judgment[6]. The instinct of self-preservation impels the spotted deer to learn ruses and to develop a method of training therein[7]. The defiance on the part of resident pupils makes the teacher find out the way of taming them.[8] Disease compels man to extract healing balm.[9]

Nothing is absolutely good or bad. The goodness or badness of a thing are merely relative. The goodness or badness of an action is not inherent in it, but lies in the manner of doing it. The woodpecker which is a bird of ill omen to a hunter, is a messenger of heaven to an antelope that is caught in the hunter's trap. The jackal who acts as a cheat to two otters proves to be a worthy husband to his mate.[10] The ascetic shows a magnanimity of human heart by rearing up a deer as his own son, but as an ascetic he betrays his weakness when he bitterly laments over its loss.[11] The use of oaths as a test of innocence of persons charged with theft by an ascetic on grounds of private ownership is bad.[12] The use of the same as a test by all persons to prove their innocence, of their own accord, is good.[13] The gathering of lotus-stalks with flowers is bad as it leads one to do injury to lotus plants. This is good when it is done by a son to carry food for his mother dying of hunger.[14] The plucking of flowers is bad for the same reason, but this is praised when it is done for making offerings to a sanctuary.[15]

The realm of nature presents settlements with the predominance of a certain form of life or class of beings. This predominance results either from a purely natural

---

[1] Scenes Nos. 57 foll. [2] Scene No. 86. [3] Scene No. 120. [4] Scene No. 103.
[5] Scene No. 148. [6] Scene No. 137. [7] Scene No. 89. [8] Scene No. 104.
[9] Scene No. 144. [10] Scene No. 121. [11] Scene No. 118. [12] Scene No 111.
[13] Scene No. 127. [14] Scene No. 124. [15] Scene Nos. 26-32.

evolution or from the human art of cultivation. A settlement with the predominance of the Śirīsha trees becomes known as a Śirīsha-forest[1]. An enclosure with the predominance of the fruit-trees is called an orchard[2], and one with the predominance of the mango-plants comes to be distinguished as a mango-grove[3]. A woodland with the predominance of the deer is known as a deer-forest[4]; a jungle with the predominance of the elephants among its inhabitants is designated an elephant-forest[5], and one with the predominance of the monkeys a monkey-forest[6]. A locality with the predominance of human beings becomes famous as a lokālaya or human habitation[7].

In each group of living substances and in each class of living beings one sees the development of a type and the evolution of a great personality and a natural leadership. A tree endowed with personality and burdened with leadership reigns on the spot as a lord of a forest[8]. An antelope with such personality and leadership comes to be recognised as the lord of a herd of deer[9], an elephant that of a herd of elephants[10], a fish that of a swarm of fishes, a bird that of a flight of birds, a snake that of a class of reptiles, an animal that of a group of beasts, and a man that of a family of human beings. By virtue of personal majesty, nobility, power, energy and vigilance, unsurpassed by others, the Ānanda comes to be acknowledged as the king of the world of fishes, the golden mallard that of the world of birds, the cobra that of the world of reptiles. the lion that of the world of beasts, and the emperor that of the world of men. By a close association friendship grows between different classes of beings, between an antelope, a woodpecker and a tortoise[4]; between a man and a deer[5], nay, between a man and such a deadly creature as a serpent[6]. By the extension of power, the control of one world extends over another. From the development of communal life emanate certain rules of conduct held binding upon the individuals living under it, and the leader, lord or king is expected to act as the custodian and upholder of the social order. Experience suggests that these rules cannot be uniformly enforced in all cases, and gradually mercy comes to be recognised as a principle above mere justice and the feeling grows that it is better to die under a leader with whom marcy is above justice than remain alive under one to whom the law is an end rather than a means[7]. The members of a class or those of a community rally for their self-interest round their own leader and form a regiment, some acting as generals, some as sentinels, some doing other works according to directions, parts and training[15]. Thus hierarchies develop within or

[1] Scene No. 69. [2] Scene No. 95. [3] Scene No. 51. [4] Scenes Nos. 89, 126.
[5] Scenes Nos. 107, 117. 128. [6] Scenes Nos. 122, 148. [7] Scene No. 137.
[8] Scene No. 69. [9] Scene No. 126. [10] Scene No. 117. [11] Scene No. 103.
[12] Scene No. 118. [13] Scene No. 106. [14] Scene No. 88. [15] Scene No. 83.

go to form a larger hierarchy, the larger hierchies develop within or go to form a still larger hierarchy ad infinitum, and all within an organic frame of natural evolution in the widest sense.

Willy nilly, the large majority of individuals accept this hierarchy as an established system. The few of them who are led by the separatist spirit become isolated. These latter individuals prove to be either saints or rogues. By virtue of isolation they gain greater chances of self-mastery or recklessness, of risks or achievements.[1] But whether saints or rogues, they agree in one point, namely, that they protest against the existing order of things and indicate that the present system is imperfect, or, at any rate, capable of improvements. By their actions and protestations they try to point out the defects of the system, to demolish it or to build a new edifice from the very ground.

All these create trying situations for the individuals. Those few individuals who can properly handle, watch or utilise them come to be recognised as Bodhisa's or Wise Men. While these situations cause puzzlement to others, the Bodhisats find in them opportunities for the manifestation of their greatness as setters of personal examples, or as moralisers, or as diviners of various means of escape. As teachers, leaders or observers, they surpass others and develop the qualities that go to make up their personality. The advent of some such wise man or the manifestation of some such wisdom takes place or is possible in one and all of the situations that arise in the whole of life.

Thus one gets the basis for generalisation and classification of the situations in life and no less of the virtues to be developed in them. The Buddhist Jātakas are just meant to serve as typical illustrations of the actual and possible situations in life and of the virtues that can be developed, the situations that a man has got to face as a king, as a councillor, as a saint, as a chaplain, as a teacher, as a pupil, as a trader, as a husbandman, and so on and so forth. The virtues are those that constitute the sine qua non of human aspirations and greatness.

The Jātakas, apart from being the results of a methodical survey of the entire realm of life and of the whole of nature as commonly cognised, form so many incidents in the life of one individual and represent a full scheme of biography. The history of the universe can be viewed in the light of manifestations and attainments of a single life, and told in the term of one evolving individual.

---

[1] Scenes Nos. 49, 98, 99, 105, 106, 111, 113, 117, 124, 129, 134-135.

This history kept within the bounds of nature as commonly known and within the limits of time-honoured tradition reveals a process of advancement from darkness to light, from sleep to awakening, from unconsciousness to consciousness, from dumbness to self-expression, from hunger and thirst to abundance and from contest to enjoyment. The Buddhist biography begins just when an individual becomes conscious enough to feel that he is destined to do something great in the world at large. Forthwith he forms a resolution to do or die, to fulfil the ends of his life at all costs. This is his praṇidhāna or resolution directing his will into a definite channel. He does not stop short there but proceeds to action (chariyā), plunging himself into struggles. As he proceeds and advances, overcoming difficulties one after another, he secures encouragement and backing from some high personages who are far above the common level, and finds himself transported into a better family connecting him with the forefathers creating the nobler tradition. In this manner he maintains his activity and hopes in the midst of obstacles and doubts and diffidence. Thus begins and proceeds onward the Bodhisattva career of an individual at a certain point or in a certain stage of natural evolution, where the universal history gravitates towards or merges in a continuous biography. It culminates in Buddhahood at a certain point or in a certain stage of conscious evolution of the individual, where his mind, freed from all fetters and shackles and ordinary interests of life, sees or feels the whole of reality by intuition, and proceeds to generate a process of thought with its impressions and concepts and causal mode, and stops where it discovers the eternal point touching all circles of thought and acquires the power of imagination creating infinite forms far beyond the actuality and possibility of nature as commonly known.

The elephant on the coping from whose mouth issues forth the creeper with its serpentine course symbolises the firmness of the will with which the individual, becoming a Bodhisattva, forms the resolution, while the creeper itself represents the career of the individual as a Bodhisattva. The coily folds of the creeper yield the panels filled alternately with the Jātaka-scenes and fruit or ornamental groupings. The Jātaka-scenes represent the particular effort made, and the grouping the particular fruition obtained. But never in experience the same effort is made, nor is the same fruition obtained. Each effort or fruition, considered per se, is unique. In a comparative view the efforts or fruitions appear as so many 'similars', neither the same nor the other (na cha saḥ na cha anyaḥ). Each fold represents an undulation in the sea, a pulsation of life and an intuition of mind, all of which are realised in

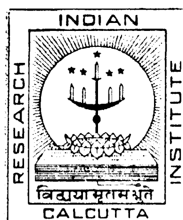
a single moment of consciousness. Intuition reveals the eternal present, memory recollects the past links, while imagination creates the future steps. In the Śaiva or panoramic view, the undulations show the rise and disappearance of forms of waves ; in the Buddhist or straight view, the undulations present the procession of forms. Without birth and death, of which men are so much afraid, one cannot conceive this procession, and without them the life of the individual has no meaning at all. The notions of birth and death arise in the mind when its attention is concentrated upon the single form, isolated from the rest. The reality that flashes at every moment of intuition is an eternal present. The Buddhist artist feels sorry that he has got to represent time in the term of space, the eternal present in terms of a past, a present and a future.

If the procession of forms be the law, the question arises—what forms might possibly follow from the life and activity of the Buddha after his demise. According to the answers suggested, the forms might evolve bringing about great changes in the character of educational institutions, in the interpretation of the order of nature, in the imagination of the future of the world and in drawing the schemes of thought and of life. The Pāli Canonical book Apadāna gives a poetical description of the new educational institutions, represented as schools of eternal enquiry, situated in the midst of an ideal atmosphere of nature and art, where every one is a teacher and every one a pupil. The decorative devices in Barhut medallions and flower compositions. represent the order of nature according to the changed interpretation.

In one of the full medallions, a peacock majestically stands, raising its tail erect and displaying a glorious wealth of its plumage, while two other peacocks approaching from two sides, remain touching its feet with their beaks. In another, one sees the prosperity of a Dragon-chief who remains seated with a four-headed cobra hood upon his turban and attended on two sides by two handsome mermaids. In a third a crocodile appears in a lotus-tank with its head lifted above water, and remains eager to catch sight of light, forgetting to take its food. In a fourth, the bees are seen sucking honey in lotus flowers without doing harm to them, while a human devotee remains seated with joined hands. In some of the full and half medallions the lions, the elaphants, the tortoises or the like are circumambulating a lotus-design without trenching upon one another. In some of the lotus medallions, one sees the figures of the sun-gods, in some the chariots of the sun drawn by the winged lions[1] or antilopes, in some the moon-deities holding mirrors, in some the stars, and in some the push of life out of a lotus-pot. In some of the flower compositions on the bevelled edges, one sees the monkeys holding the bunches

of fruits in their embrace, in some the squirrels nibbling at the fruits, in some the parrots demonstrating the bounties of nature. In some of these compositions the male and female worshippers can be seen plucking flowers or fruits for making offerings. The lotus represents the sun, the human heart and the beautiful product of nature. Nature suggests a line of evolution in which it becomes possible for the different forms of life to gather food without doing injury. Nature presents a joyous scene in which the victims and victimisers remain side by side, with their eyes turned towards the glory above. There is throughout jollity and joviality in the midst of innocence. Art creates an eternal joyous situation in which all the luminaries, all the elemental forces, all kinds of life and all classes of beings participate, and lend their forms to it. It is suggested that all conflicts of thoughts and all clashes of interests can be removed and made significant by means of schemes allowing the fullest scope for self-expression and free enjoyment. No scheme is perfect which leaves out any interest, no thought is perfect which ignores any standpoint, and no institution is perfect which cannot postulate elevation, and not depravity, as the real trend of nature as a whole.





THE INDIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE

55, UPPER CHITPORE ROAD,
CALCUTTA.

SUBSCRIBERSHIP FORM

To

The Hony, Secretary,

Dear Sir,

Please enrol my name as a Life / an Ordinary Subscriber of .... Series from .... 193 . I am sending Rs. as my Life / Ordinary subscription by ....

Yours faithfully,

Signature ....

Designation ....

Date ....

Full Name ....
(in block letters)

Address ....

....

[Over

N. B.—Barhut Bk. I—Stone As A Story-Teller Rs. 5/-
Bk. II—Jataka-Scenes Rs. 7/-
Bk. III—Art and Illustrations, Rs. 6/-
Pre-publication price—Rs. 15/- only.

RULES

1. Subscriptions are payable strictly in advance.

2. Any change of address should be intimated.

3. In case of irregular delivery, subscribers are requested to forward the wrappers as these are invariably called for by the postal authorities.

4. In case of non-delivery, an immediate intimation will ensure prompt action.

5. Subscribers are entitled to certain privileges detailed in the pamphlet, "Its aims and objects with a brief sketch of Rules and Regulations" which will be sent to every subscriber.

6. Life subscription is Rs 100/- for all the publications of Fine Arts and Architecture Series and ordinary Subscription is Re 1/- as the enrolment fee, and the price of the book.

N. B.—Barua's Gaya and Buddha-Gaya,

Vol. I—Pre-Buddhistic History, Price Rs. 5/- and

Vol. II—Old Buddhist Shrines at Bodh-Gaya with Plates, Price Rs. 7/-

may also be had from the Book Depot of the Indian Research Institute.

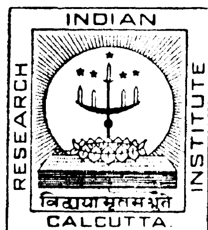
INDIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

FINE ARTS SERIES—No. 2

BARHUT

BOOK II

JĀTAKA-SCENES



BY

BENIMADHAB BARUA, M.A., D. LIT. (LOND.)

Professor, Department of Pali, Lecturer, Departments of Sanskrit and Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, formerly a Government of India Scholar, and author of "Gayā and Buddha-Gayā." "A History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy", "Barhut Inscriptions", "Old Brāhmi Inscriptions", etc.

CALCUTTA

1934

Published by Satis Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., Hony. General Secretary, The Indian Research Institute,
55, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta, and printed by Jitendra Nath De, at
The Sreekrishna Printing Works, 259, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.

IN MEMORY OF

RADHARANI

THE ONLY LITTLE DAUGHTER

OF

Dr. B. C. LAW

—a distinguished Scholar and Patron of Buddhistic
Studies in India at whose instance this work
was undertaken and under whose
genial care it developed.

PREFACE

In offering Barhut Book II—Jātaka Scenes to the reading public, I take the opportunity of correcting a mistake (Bk. I. P. 3) in the naming "Outer Railing" for which Cunningham is responsible. According to Sir John Marshall, the remains are not of any outer but of a Berm Railing of the same pattern as one finds at the base of the Sanchi Stūpas. The term "outer" being inappropriate, the term "inner", used in contradistinction to "outer", loses its significance. Consequently, the Barhut Railing is the simple term by which the main enclosure should be denoted.

The publication of this Book brings my prolonged study of the monument of Barhut with its central mound, railings, gateways, inscriptions and sculptures to an end. The Book III, however, will contain the illustrations serially numbered for reference in both the books.

Calcutta University,

October, 15, 1934.

B. M. BARUA

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The Indian Research Institute is now in a position to publish Book II of Professor Barua's monograph—Barhut as the second number of its Fine Arts Series publications.

The Institute is grateful to its Vice-President Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., for his kind patronage and generous help in enabling the Institute to undertake these costly publications.

The Indian Research Institute

October, 15, 1934.

SATIS CHANDRA SEAL

CONTENTS

BARHUT

BOOK II

JĀTAKA-SCENES

SECTION I

SCENES OF BODHI-TREES IN INCULCATION OF THE MAHĀPADĀNA DOCTRINE OF BUDDHOTPĀDA-DHARMATĀ

1. Pl. XXIX. 1 [Scene 26] :—Bhagavato Vipasino Bodhi[1].
"The Bodhi-Tree of the Divine Master Vipaśchit."

This is the label of a medallion-carving depicting the scene of Bodhi-Tree of Buddha Vipaśchit. The tree, according to Buddhist tradition, is no other than Pāṭali, Bignonia Suoveolens or the famous Trumpet-Flower. What we here have, as Cunningham observes[2], is a full front-view of the tree in flower preventing its identification from its representation. The throne of the Buddha at the foot and in front of the tree is an elevated platform of solid structure, apparently a cubical jewel-seat, bearing some auspicious leaf and flower marks, the leaves and flowers appearing to be no other than those of the Bodhi-Tree. The trunk and upper part of the tree are seemingly of the same height. The sculptor has delightfully represented its wealth of flowers blossoming in bunches, distributed harmoniously over the balloon-shaped foliage. The scene presents on two opposite sides of the tree and throne two groups of worshippers, one group of five on the right side, and the other one of six on the left. All the worshippers appear to be male deities, one of whom, on each side, is bowing down, one is offering a garland, two on the right side are making demonstrations of the wealth of flowers of the tree, while the remaining worshippers are in a standing attitude of devotion[3].

The Bodhi-Tree of Vipaśchit symbolical of his life-history.

None need be surprised if the motif is meant to represent really a group of five or six worshippers performing an act of circumambulation, making offerings and

1 Barua Sinha, No. 135. 2 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 46. 3 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 113.

bowing down by turns, one after another, the offerings consisting of garlands and bunches of flowers. So far as the representation of the Bodhi-Tree is concerned, it has reference to the subject-matter of such a Discourse as the Mahāpadāna, while the act of devotion cannot be explained by any other Canonical Discourse than the Āṭānāṭiya.

Compared with Buddhaghosha's description, the Barhut picture of the Bodhi-Tree is rather a simple representation. According to his description, the trunk of Pāṭali, the Bodhi-Tree of Vipaśchit, rose aloft to a height of 50 ratnas (cubits), while its branches towered 50 ratnas high, giving the tree a total height of 100 ratnas. It was uniformly decked with bunches of flowers from its bottom to its top, looking like dome-shaped earrings. All the Pāṭali trees in the ten thousand world-systems were at the same time adorned with flowers, nay, all the trees and plants shared this glorious fortune. The earth and oceans were covered with varieties of lotuses of all colours. The flags and banners were hoisted in rows. Here and there one might see the sights of celestial groves, the Chitralatā, the Nandana, and the rest. It is indeed in a very charming way that the quarters and the world-systems participated in the eclat of festive decoration.

The Bodhi-Tree of Śikhi symbolical of his life-history.

2 :—The scene of the Bodhi-Tree of Buddha Śikhī and the label attached to it are probably missing. The label, if it was there, must have been worded—Bhagavato Sikhino Bodhi[1].

"The Bodhi-Tree of the Divine Master Śikhī."

The Bodhi-Trees of all the Buddhas were, according to Buddhaghosha's description, of equal height, The Bodhi-Tree of Śikhī was Puṇḍarīka, Magnifera Indica or the White-Mango. It was adorned with fragrant flowers. It was rich in its wealth of fruits. Its fruits in the same stage of development hung together from the same stalk. The ripe fruits were all juicy and delicious, as if celestial delicacy was put into them[2].

3. Pl. XXIX. 2 [Scene 28] :—Bhagavato Vesabhuno Bodhi Sālo[3].

The Bodhi-Tree of Viśvabhṛit symbolical of his life-history.

"Śāla or Shorea Robusta—the Bodhi-Tree of the Divine Master Viśvabhṛit."

The representation of the scene of the Bodhi-Tree of Buddha Viśvabhṛit is similar to that of the Bodhi-Tree of Vipaśchit, with this difference that it presents a

1 Barua Sinha, No. 136. 2 Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed. II, P. 13. 3 Barua Sinha, No. 137.

more elaborate ornamentation and a smaller group of worshippers, just a pair of male and female deities. The bunches of flowers and fruits of the tree are abundant and many garlands are hanging from different branches and joints. The pair of worshippers is so represented that, on each side, if the male worshipper is standing up, the female worshipper is bowing down, i. e., kneeling beside the Bodhimaṇḍa, and vice versa. The offering made by the male worshipper is a basket of flowers,[1] and that by the female worshipper is a long piece of garland. Here we find a double artistic device for representing kinds of offering made and act of adoration by turns. The act of circumambulation is an essential part of Bodhi-vandanā. The upper part of the trunk is adorned with ornamented Dharmachakra and Triratna symbols, both of which are crowned by umbrellas with hanging garlands. There is in front the throne of the Buddha which is a solid structure, similar to that of Vipaśchit, and is enriched with impressions of the fruit and garland offerings placed upon it. The frieze on the front side of the throne contains a double chain-work design with three parallel rows of lotuses, set up or suspended like bells.

4. Pl. XXIX 3 [Scene 29] :—Bhagavato Kakusadhasa Bodhi.[2]

The Bodhi-Tree of Kakutsandha symbolical of his life-history.

"The Bodhi-Tree of the Divine Master Kakutsandha."

The Bodhi-Tree of Buddha Kakutsandha is, according to tradition, Śirīsha or Acacia. Like the Puṇḍarīka and the Śāla, the Śirīsha abounded, as Buddhaghosha describes it[3], in fruits and flowers. The lower portion of the throne in front of the tree is lost, while the upper part presenting the full view of the tree and the scene of worship is in good preservation. The small leaves and large bunches of flowers are characteristic, says Cunningham[4], of the tree Acacia Sirisa. But the bunches of fruits and hanging garlands are also among its notable features. The throne usually bears the leaf and flower marks. The trunk of the tree is not adorned with any auspicious symbol. Here, too, one has just one pair of worshippers, the male kneeling beside the throne as an act of devotion, while the female standing beside the tree is making a demonstration of the length and size of the garlands, precisely as, on the opposite side, the female is bowing down in a kneeling posture, while the male standing up is demonstrating the abundance of flowers and fruits. Excepting the inverted order of groupings, the scene of worship and circumambulation is similar to that in the preceding representation.

---

1 Cunningham says it is a bowl. Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 114.
2 Barua Sinha, No. 138.
3 Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed., p. 13,
4 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 46, 114.

5. Pl. XXIX. 1 [Scene 30] :—Bhagavato Konāgamanasa Bodhi.[1]

The Bodhi-Tree of Konāgamana symbolical of his life-history.

"The Bodhi-Tree of the Divine Master Koṇāgamana."

The Bodhi-Tree of Buddha Koṇāgamana is Udumbara, Ficus Glomereta or the Fig. According to Buddhaghosha's description,[2] it cannot have flowers. This well accords with old Indian belief as expressed in the saying—"He who sees the flower of the Fig-tree, becomes a monarch." The Barhut representation faithfully adheres to this Indian tradition. Cunningham says that the leaves of the tree are well-marked,[3] He finds the garlands hanging from its branches. But its bunches of fruits also are clearly visible. No one can mistake that the tree is the well-known Ficus. It has, as usual, a Bodhimaṇḍa in front. In this instance, the throne is supported upon pillars with octagonal shafts. Though the worshippers, as in the preceding two scenes, are just a pair of male and female deities, it is only the female who, on both sides, is actually making the offering of figs and bowing down in a kneeling attitude, while the male remains standing, either holding in one hand the fruits of the tree put into a receptacle for offering, or drawing attention to the garland. In spite of these alterations, the same device for representing the scene of worship and circumambulation is there.

6. Pl. XXX. 1 [Scene 31] :—Bhagavato Kasapasa Bodhi.[4]

The Bodhi-Tree of ... mbolical

"The Bodhi-Tree of the Divine Master Kāśyapa."

Though the label does not mention the name, the general form and visibly drawn leaves and fruits leave no room for doubt that it is the traditional Bodhi-Tree of Buddha Kāśyapa; we mean Nyagrodha, Ficus Indica or the Banyan. It does not bear flowers.[5] Like the Fig-tree, it is adorned with hanging garlands. The Bodhi-maṇḍa in front is a solid structure. Here, too, we meet with one pair of worshippers, the male deity remaining, on both sides, in a standing position, either simply showing a piece of garland or holding it with joined hands. On the right side, the female worshipper sitting on a morhā, is eagerly and amazedly looking up and watching how beautifully the garlands are hanging down as these are being set up by the male. She, on the left side, is kneeling before the tree as an act of homage touching its trunk with her hands.[6] Can it be doubted that also, in this instance, we have a slightly altered design of the same scene of worship and circumambulation ?

---

1 Barua Sinha, No. 139.
2 Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed. II, p. 13.
3 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 46, 114.
4 Barua Sinha, No. 140.
5 Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed. II, p. 13.
6 Cf. Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 46, 114.

7. Pls. XXX. 3, XIII.—S. Gate. Prasenajit Pillar. Outer Face. Upper Bas-Relief [Scene 32] :—Bhagavato Sākamunino Bodho.[1]

"The Bodhi-Tree of the Divine Master Śākyamuni."

The Bodhi-Tree of Śākyamuni symbolical of his life-history.

The Bodhi-Tree of Buddha Śākyamuni, the last of the Mahāpadāna list of seven Buddhas, i. e., of the Buddha who is a truly historical personage, has naturally received the most elaborate treatment. Two umbrellas are placed, one above the other, in its top. Some garlands are suspended from its branches. Its upspreading branches, well-shaped leaves and small round fruits without any flowers, all having distinct effects in the composition of its charming foliage, clearly show that it is Aśvattha, Ficus Religiosa or the Holy Pippala. The heights of its trunk and foliage are, as represented, disproportionate, in disregard of the received tradition of equality.[2] But the observed disproportionateness is more an appearance than a reality. The apparent longer height is accounted for by the fact that here the sculptor is required to represent, within the limited space at his disposal, the tallness of the trunk prominently behind the gate-chamber of a circular edifice, which serves as a wall surrounding the tree and provided with a barrel-shaped vaulted roof. This roof, even in its highest elevation or altitude, i.e., the portion of it covering the gate-chamber, remains below the foliage. The circular edifice is a two-storeyed building, the upper storey of which is a superstructure upon an open-pillared circumambulation-hall presenting a colonnade of two rows of pillars with octagonal shafts and bell-capitals. The upper storey is provided, on both sides, with corridors and large bands of Buddhist railings. There are many arched windows or niches, each containing an umbrella with hanging garlands and set up, to all intents and purposes, over a Bodhimaṇḍa or Vajrāsana representation, technically known as ratna-vedikā or elevated square platform, the jewel-seat. Several of these are to be seen on two sides, while the wing niches have, on each side, the standing figure of a female worshipper with some kind of offerings in her hands. It is apparent that the corridors with protecting railings are intended to be used as passages for perambulation and worship of vedikās at regular intervals. The gate-chamber presents, in its lower storey, an open-pillared square hall. Its roof is rounded at the ends and appears to be a barrel vault surmounted by three pinnacles, the top of it just reaching the lowermost branches of the tree. The upper storey of the chamber has two arched

1 Barua & Sinha, No. 141.

2 Fausböll, Jātaka, IV, p. 229 : The standard height of the lower half and the upper half is 50 cubits, the total height of the tree being 100 cubits.

windows on each side, without having any female figures in the wing niches. Its dimension cannot be very large, the whole of it resting on four pillars.[1]

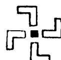
The large square Bodhimaṇḍa in the lower storey of the gate-chamber bears numerous auspicious leaf and flower marks, symbolical of offerings made on it. The front side of the throne has designs of plain arched doors or windows. The tree itself is ornamented with two Triratna symbols that stand majestically, on two sides, behind the throne and surmounting it. Though the tree is actually situated behind the gate-chamber, it appears, at first sight, to break through the domed roof. In the Bodhimaṇḍa or Vajrāsana courtyard one can notice the familiar device of representing a pair of male and female deities circumambulating and worshipping by turns. On the right, the female is kneeling on the throne, while the male is standing with joined hands held on his breast. On the left, the male is kneeling on the throne, while the female stands behind the male looking outward and holding some flowers in her hands. It is by suggestio falsi that one, with Cunningham,[2] can take the male worshipper to the right to be a Dragon-chief distinguished by a triple serpent-crest.

At a little distance, in front of the Vajrāsana-hall and almost in line with its front pillar on the right, there stands an isolated pillar with a bell-capital, surmounted by a full-size standing elephant, holding a large hanging garland. This pillar has a round shaft, retaining the vestige of the round shaft and glistening surface of isolated Aśokan monoliths.[3] What adds charm to the majesty of the scene is the appearance of two flying angels, approaching the upper foliage of the tree from two sides, one, on the right, carrying a piece of garland, the other, on the left, carrying a receptacle of fruit or flower offerings, both making their way through clouds ; they remain poised in the air or hover round as an act of perambulation. Two angels, on two sides of the tree and the upper storey of the gate-chamber, stand on the outside balcony of the circular edifice, one, on each side, holding in the right hand in a very characteristic manner, a long piece of overhanging folded robe, long enough to connect the flying angel with the one standing below and pass round the back through two elbows or arm-pits of the standing figure. Obviously the artistic purpose is to represent the standing figures as flying angels who have descended from the sky. Each of them, as Cunningham observes,[4] holds the tip of his tongue and forefinger of the left hand, apparently giving whistles. Whether one

---

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 45-46, 119-122. 2 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 114-115.
3 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 122. 4 Ibid, p. 114.

counts these angels two or four, they are probably the guardian spirits of the Bodhi-tree (Bodhi-vṛiksha-devatā), four of whom, Veṇu, Valgu, Sumana and Ojopati, are mentioned in the Lalita-Vistara by name.[1] The Barhut scene has nothing of the grandeur described in the Jātaka-Nīdāna-Kathā.[2] Though it points to an earlier and simpler description, it is certainly in keeping with the tradition in the Lalita-Vistara.[3]



1 Lalita-Vistara, ch. XIX. P. 347.

2 Fausböll, Jātaka, I, pp. 75-76. Here the description is rather conventional and hackneyed, being the same as that of Budhhaghosha's account of the Bodhi-Tree of Vipaśchit.

3 Lalita-Vistara, ch. XIX. cf. Kāliṅgabodhi-Jātaka (F. 479).

SECTION II

SCENES FROM BUDDHA ŚĀKYAMUNI'S LIFE IN ILLUSTRATION OF MAHĀPADĀNA DOCTRINE

i. FROM AVIDŪRE-NIDĀNA— 'NOT-FAR-REMOTE SECTION'

1. Pl. XIV.—S. Gate. Prasenajit Pillar. Middle Bas-Relief. Outer Face [Scene 33]:—Purathima-disaṁ Sudhāvāsa-devatā.[1]

[Pachimaṁ disaṁ......................[2]

Utaraṁ disa[ṁ] tini savata-nisisāni[3]

Dakhinaṁ disaṁ chha Kāmāvachara-sahasāni.[4]

"On the eastern side—the Pure-Abode [Rūpa-Brahma] deities."

"On the western side........................".

"On the northern side—three classes of all-pervading [Rūpa-Brahmas]".

"On the southern side—six thousand Kāmāvacharas of six Heavens of Lust."

Deities' supplication. Bodhisattva's great observations.

This interesting scene, laid in a celestial grove, presents, in an apparent view, four groups of deities or male gods, each of which is placed between two trees and two groups in a row, each group generally consisting of five deities. It is possible as well to represent the deities as standing in four parallel rows, one behind the other. To each group or row is attached an appropriate label naming the class of deities and the quarter assigned to it. Four labels, of which one is broken off, mention the different classes of deities, the first three referring to sixteen classes of Rūpa-Brahmas (5+8+3) and the fourth one to six classes of Kāmāvacharas. All the deities but one are in a standing posture, with joined hands, held across their breasts. One in the left-hand extremity of the lower row is seated on a piece of rock under a tree, with the left leg laid across the right kept erect, pressing the right knee towards the breast. His head rests on the palm of his left hand in a slightly reclining position, while he holds a small aṅkuśa or elephant-goad in his outstretched right hand. Solemnity prevails over the entire scene. The deity seated under the tree really stands apart from the rest. He is lost in serious thoughts, while

1—4 Barua & Sinha, Nos. 142—145.

others stand with joined hands. On his left side stand two Dragon-chiefs, with serpent-crests on their turbans. In the right-hand extremity of the upper rows is an isolated figure of a big-bellied and fat-bodied god, probably Dhṛitarāshṭra, the guardian angel of the eastern quarter, standing in a comic fashion, placing his right hand on the upper edge of his turban. The peculiarity of his head-dress should not pass unnoticed. It is the single fold of a robe so tied round his head as to present a circular ring on the top, keeping the crown exposed to view without a diadem above the forehead. The place assigned to him is precisely that of a warden of the convocation. According to the literary description, this is exactly the position of a Lokapāla during a Durbar of the gods[1].

What is this scene ? It is obviously that of supplication of various deities, Rūpa-Brahmas and Kāmāvacharas, who assembled in the Tushita Heaven to exhort the Bodhisattva to be born in the womb for salvation of the suffering world. According to Pāli legends, he, as Santushita, was then a dweller and lord of the Tushitapura. The Lalita-Vistara[2] contains certain important details about the life of this god, destined to become a supremely enlightened Buddha. We are told that the Bodhisattva, then born as the god Śvetaketu, was 'dwelling in the noble mansion of Tushita, in all the glory of the place and his own godliness, praised, eulogized, extolled and glorified by a hundred thousand devas.' While he was calmly seated in this noble mansion, adorned with gateways, windows, buildings, one-peaked houses and gate-chambers, bedecked with Atimuktaka, Champaka, Pāṭali and other trees, and moved by the music of innumerable heavenly dancers, a hundred thousand millions and crores of deities gathered together, with their faces and eyes turned towards him. The Bodhisattva before giving his word to the gods made certain great observations about the time, the place, the land, the race, the environment and the rest. Here the Barhut scene is evidently based upon a simpler description similar to that in Pāli.

2. Pl. XV.—S. Gate. Prasenajit Pillar. Lower Bas-Relief. Outer Face [Scene 34]:—Sāḍika-saṁmadaṁ turaṁ devānaṁ.[3]

Alaṁbusā achharā.[4]
Misakesi achharā.[5]
Padumāvati achharā[6]
Subhadā achharā.[7]

1 See Mahā-Govinda-Suttanta, Dīgha, II. 2 Lalita-Vistara. Ch. II.
3—7 Barua & Sinha, Nos. 146-150

"The jovial ravishing music of the gods, gay with dramatic acting."
"Alambushā—the heavenly dancer."
"Miśrakeśī—the heavenly dancer."
"Padmāvatī—the heavenly dancer."
"Subhadrā—the heavenly dancer."

Deities' exhaltations over their success. Forecast of Bodhisattva's birth.

As a supplement to deities' supplication, there is to be noticed, in the lower relief on the same outer face of the Prasenajit Pillar, a joyous celestial scene of a grove or paradise, where twelve nymphs or heavenly damsels (apsaras, deva-kanyā) are distinctly arranged in three groups of four each, one of four dancers occupying the right half, one of four singers in the centre and upper portion of the left half, and the third one of four players on musical instruments in the outer zone and lower corner of the left half. The singers and players are all seated cross-legged under a tree behind them in the upper corner to the left, while the dancers are all in a standing posture. Four labels, separately attached to four dancers, mention their mames as Alambushā, Miśrakesī, Padmāvatī and Subhadrā. The label below the players clearly describes the jovial character of the musical scene. The damsels represent ideal Indian beauties as conceived by the Buddhists. They tastefully wear heavenly apparels, gorgeous head coverings and ornaments over their intertwined hair-locks, earrings suspended from their ear-holes, tattoo marks on their foreheads or on their faces, necklaces of four strings, hip-belts or girdles of five strings, and layers of anklets. One of the players wears armlets and three of the dancers wear bracelets, either suspended like a sacred thread or tied together in a locket. They have tall figures, well-formed limbs, prominent hips, lean waists, dingified busts, bold facial expressions, well-shaped noses, and piercing eyes. All the players are handling two varieties of stringed instruments, one of which is viṇā or harp and the other is covered with skin. All the singers, sitting face to ace, show clapping hands. The lithesome figures and uniform movements of the dancers have a dramatic effect. They dance in two rows of two each, Alambushā and Miśrakeśī in the front and Padmāvatī and Subhadrā in the back row. The chief figures among the dancers, nay, among all the damsels, is Alambushā, distinguished from the rest by her turban-like head-dress, generally worn by a male. Just in front of her and midway between herself and Miśrakeśī we see a little boy dancing with head-coverings, bracelets and hip-belts like those of a female. The prominence given to Alambushā is quite in keeping with the Buddhist description of her beauty, charm and position in the Alambusā-Jātaka (F. 523), where she is said to have been selected from among two and half crores of heavenly courtezans as one capable of

tempting and testing the virtue of Ṛishyaśriṅga of the great ascetic vow. All the nymphs, introduced in the scene, belong, according to classifications in the Purāṇas, to (1) Laukikī or Anthropomorphic class, and to (2) Mauneyā representing a class of temptresses of the saintly ascetics. The Lalita-Vistara and the Mahāvastu[1] versions of the Āṭānāṭiya Discourse allocate thirty-two damsels to four quarters, eight to each quarter. According to this arrangement, Alambushā and Miśrakeśī have their place in the west and Padmāvatī belongs to the north. The Barhut scene does not seem to follow any such rule. The Barhut figures of twelve damsels rather remind us of twelve chief nymphs of the older Vimāna-Vatthu list,[2] whose functions consisted in dancing, singing, music, comic acting, display of apparels, and other pleasing arts. Their manner of dressing, toileting, personal charms and other details also tally with descriptions in the Buddhist Book of Stories of Heaven.[3]

The subject of the scene cannot be other than that of a sequel of the deities' exhortation to the Bodhisattva to be born in the womb. The mysterious presence of the little boy indicates that the Bodhisattva could be induced to give his consent after due deliberations. We mean that here we have a forecast of the Bodhisattva's birth. The lively scene is expressive of great rejoicings of the deities. The presence of the nymphs and their participation in the action are rather unusual. It is only in the sublime poetic account of the Lalita-Vistara that we have a grand description of the scenes where the deities expressed their exhortation and felicity through the symphony of music, songs and dances of millions of the nymphs[4].

3. Pl. XXVIII. 2 [Scene 35] :—Bhagavato ūkraṁti.[5]
"The Divine Being's Descent."

Garbhāvakrānti : Bodhisattva's descent the shape of tusked white elephant into mother's omb.

Here Cunningham sees Queen Mahāmāyā sleeping quietly on her couch, in the centre of the medallion, with her right hand under her head, and her left hand by her side. The position leaves her right side exposed. The time is night, as a lamp is burning at the foot of the bed, on an ornamental stand. Three women are seated in attendance by the bed, one of whom is waiving the cow-tail chauri to keep off insects. The second has her arms extended, but for what purpose is not clear. The third with joined hands sits in an attitude of devotion. The queen is in full costume, with earrings, necklace, bracelets, anklets, and numerous girdles, all complete. The

1 Mahāvastu, III, pp. 308 foll.
2 Vimāna-Vatthu, p. 47.
3 Ibid, pp. 61-62.
4 Lalita-Vistara, Ch. II, p. 12; Ch. V, p. 58.
5 Barua & Sinha, No. 151.

elephant has an ornamental cloth, covering the top of his head, but he carries no flower in his trunk as in the Burmese account of his appearance before the queen. He has only two tusks, which are marked to represent three tusks each. In none of the representations of a similar scene found elsewhere in India has the elephant got more than two tusks, nor does he carry a flower. The medallion represents a scene of the Dream of Māyā Devī which has a parallel in the Jaina account of the first object seen by queen Triśalā in her dream[1]. This is described as an elephant with four tusks, looking like radiant drops of dew, or a heap of pearls, or the sea of milk, possessing a radiance like the moon, huge as the silvery mountain Vaitādhya, while from his temples oozed out the sweet liquid that attracts the swarms of bees. Such was the incomparably stately elephant, equal to Airāvata himself, which Queen Triśalā saw, while uttering a deep sound like thunder with his trunk filled with water. The Barhut sculpture is in a very fine state of preservation, but the workmanship is coarse, and the position of Māyā Devī is stiff and formal.[2]

It is not clear from this description whether the scene is laid in Śuddhodana's palace or elsewhere. The representation is befitting the traditional description of a person sleeping on a splendid couch in a magnificent royal bed-chamber, where perfumed oil-lamps are kept burning during the whole of the night.[3] But it is rather unusual that the queen's head is adorned with garlands instead of ornamental head-coverings. In fact, all the apparels and ornaments that she wears go to show that she is no longer an ordinary human being but the very goddess with some heavenly maidens in attendance. The stiffness of her body is quite natural and artistic at the sight of such an unusual phenomenon as an elephant descending from high to enter her womb by penetrating her right side. This also explains why one of the maidens extends her arms, her right hand pressing upon the upper end of a leg of the couch. She does so apparently to prevent the queen rolling down or the couch being unbalanced under the pressure of the descending elephant.[4] The leg held by her hand is represented as though slipping off. The attitude of the elephant reminds one of the slow descent of a piece of cloud in the horizon and the gentle turning of the developed foetus in the womb when the pain begins. According to the Lalita-Vistara description, the elephant was of the noblest breed, having six tusks, white as snow and silver, beetle-headed, white rows of teeth, reddish crown, and all the parts of his body complete, proportionate, fully developed and compact, and characterised by

1 Stevenson's Kalpa-Sūtra, p. 42. 2 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 83-84. 3 Fausböll, Jātaka, I, p. 61.

4 Dr. Kramrisch would take the maid to be dozing at night.

a gentle movement. The details of the scene presuppose a story similar to one in the Jātaka-Nidāna-Kathā as will appear from the following narration :—

"The people of Kapilavāstu were all busy celebrating a festival in the month of Āshāḍha from the seventh day previous to the full-moon. The queen Mahāmāyā enjoyed this festival for seven days in the purity of heart and external conduct. On the last day when the full-moon set in, she bathed in fragrant water, arrayed herself with flowers and ornaments, and taking upon herself the five vows, she retired into her bed-chamber, where she lay herself on a royal couch, and while she was sleeping upon it, she had a dream. In her dream she saw that the regents of the four quarters took up the couch upon which she lay, and conveyed it to the Himalayan region, where they placed it upon a rock under the shade of a tall Śāla-tree, remaining respectfully at a distance. The queens of these four guardian angels then bathed her with water fetched from the lake Anavatapta to take away from her all human contaminations. The guardian angels then took her to a rock of silver, upon which was a palace of gold. They laid out a divine couch, placed her upon it, with her head towards the east. When she reposed there, the Bodhisattva appeared to her in the shape of a white elephant, like a cloud in the moonlight, coming from the north, descending from the rock of gold and climbing up the rock of silver, making a trumpet-sound, and carrying a white lotus in his trunk. After ascending the rock, he entered the palace of gold, and thrice circumambulated the queen's couch before he made his way into her womb by her right side. She felt as though the Bodhisattva got into her body. Thus her maternity began, enabling her to become the genetrix of the Divine Being."

4. Pl. XXIX. 5 [Scene 36].—Here we have, says Cunningham, only a fragment of one of the broken statues in which the hand of a female is grasping the flower and leaf of a Śāla tree, a portion of the fruit being also visible in its upper part. He also observes that the representation of the flowers, though somewhat conventional, is sufficiently true to the general form and appearance to be easily recognised.

Bodhisattva's birth at Lumbinī (?)

It is true that the surviving fragment presents a drooping branch of a tree in flower, there being several bunches of flowers blossoming on an oval-shaped foliage, one of which is held on the palm of the right hand of a female figure to the right. Is the tree really a Śāla ? If it were so, there is no reason why its leaves and flowers should be different from those of the Śāla trees so distinctly represented in three other scenes ? Why should we not take it to be Plaksha ? Further question arises. Can

we regard the fragment as a remnant of a broken statue of a Yakhsiṇī or Devatā? Had it been so, it would have been placed according to the general Barhut convention under a tree with its top naturally bending and hanging over its head. But in this scene a particular branch of the tree, instead of its top, bends so far down as to be within the easy reach of the human hand kept in its natural position. We think it more cogent to get hold of a Buddhist legend which has a specific reference to such a phenomenon as this. The legend of the birth of the Buddha, or more accurately, of Prince Siddhārtha, is the one that underlies the scene. There are principally three versions of this legend, the Pāli version[1] describing the tree as Śāla, and the Lalita-Vistara and Mahāvastu versions[2] as Plaksha.

According to the Mahāvastu version, Queen Māyā stood supporting her arm on a branch of the Plaksha. The Lalita-Vistara version tells us that the Plaksha tree lowered its top to salute her. It is the Pāli version which says that only a branch of the noble Śāla tree bent down so low as to be within her easy reach. But for the difference of the tree which we take to be Plaksha, the scene seems to have represented a version similar to the Pāli. According to the Pāli legend, when Queen Mahāmāyā's time of confinement drew nigh, she desired to see her people in Devadaha. On the way she wished to have a walk in the delightful forest-grove of Lumbinī, where all the trees bore flower out of season. On reaching the foot of an imposing Śāla tree, she playfully tried to catch hold of one of its branches and it bent itself, to the amazement of all, so far down as to be well within the grasp of her hand. Hardly she held it when her pain began. What followed is too well-known to be recounted here.

5. Pls. LIV, XVI : Middle Bas-Relief. Ajātaśatru-Pillar. Left side [Scene 37] :—

Mahāsāmāyikāya Arahaguto devaputo vokato bhagavato sāsani paṭisaṁdhi.[3] "In the great assembly of the gods the Angel Arhadgupta announces the inception of the Divine Being's system."

This inscription serves as a label for the Jātaka-scene gorgeously sculptured on the left side of a corner pillar of the Western Gateway. The bas-relief, as noticed by Cunningham, represents the footprints of Buddha placed on a throne or altar which is canopied by an umbrella hung with garlands, while a royal personage is kneeling before the altar, and reverentially touching the foot-prints with his hands.[4] One might see in it the

Announcement of inception of Buddha's Law by Angel Arhadgupta.

1 Fausböll, Jātaka, I, p. 52. 2 Lalita-Vistara, Ch. VII; Mahāvastu, II, p. 19.
3 Barua & Sinha, No. 152. 4 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 112.

depiction of an interesting scene from the Lalita-Vistara story of the Buddha, where the angels of the Pure-Abodes were predicting, in the disguise of Brahmins, the Bodhisattva's descent into the womb.[1] But this particular episode singled out for identification does not explain the points noticed by Cunningham. The scene represents, as stated in the label, a Mahāsamaya or large congregation of the great angels, who are found seated with joined hands as an act of devotion, round a square-shaped jewelled throne canopied by an umbrella, the modern pattern of which is afforded by the Burmese sunshades. The throne bears on its surface imprints of hands. Its front side shows two flying birds carrying an ornamental chain-work from which a few lotuses are suspended. In the middle of the lower step we see two foot-prints, each bearing a wheel-mark.[2] One of the angels kneels before these foot-prints, touching one to the left with his left hand and the other to the right with the turban covering his head. He must be the angel Arhadgupta, referred to in the label. The angel and his comrades are clad in jewels and drapery. But he alone performs the act of devotion technically called 'vandanā,' while others are doing the 'añjalikarma'. Though the throne has been placed in the middle of the bas-relief, it stands, exactly as in a few other scenes, without the Bodhi-tree, and this is what must be when the scene is laid inside a hall. We dare-say that here we have an artistic counterpart of an episode similar to one in the 7th chapter of the Lalita-Vistara, recording the visit of the angels of the Pure-Abodes with Maheśvara at their head. This episode contains expressions corresponding to the label of the bas-relief.

The story relates that not long after the brith of the Bodhisattva Maheśvara, the lordly angel, announced the fact to the angels of the Pure-Abodes, saying that the great saviour was already born among men, destined to attain ere long the supreme beatitude. He also proposed that they should lose no time to visit Kapilavāstu to pay the proper homage to the Bodhisattva, to congratulate King Śuddhodana and return after duly predicting the Bodhisattva's future achievement. The angels readily accepted his proposal. Forthwith the lordly angel, surrounded by a retinue of twelve thousand angels, making everything in the noble city of Kapilavāstu resplendent by their light, came to the royal residence of Śuddhodana. They were all adorned with jewelled crowns (maṇi-ratna-chūḍā) and noble behaviour. They carried in their hands excellent flowers, garlands, unguents and silken robes. They came

1 Lalita-Vistara, Ch. III.

2 The wheel-symbol, as Cunningham rightly points out, is one of the 32 birth-marks of a child destined to become a Buddha.

indeed, full of respect, anxious to see and worship the princely Babe, who was the god of gods. He bowed down before the Bodhisattva, touching the Great Being's feet with his head. Wearing his upper garment or scarf on one shoulder, he sat on one side, respectfully keeping the Lordly Child on his right side. He took the Prince of men on his lap, and joyfully congratulated Śuddhodana that the Prince born was destined to attain Sambodhi, of which there was nothing beyond.

Flight of five Rishis during Śākyan plough-Festival.

6. Pl. XLII. 5 [Scene 38] :—The scene occupies an upper triangular transverse section on the left side of the original bas-relief, more than half of which is broken and missing, there being nothing but a fire-altar left of the lower part of the composition. The portion which now survives presents, as noticed by Cunningham, three Ṛishis or Tāpasas of the Jaṭila class, who are flying through the air.[1] They stand poised or motionless in mid-air on their way over the fire-altar beneath. Their matted hair is coiled and knotted on the top of their heads in one of the two fashions adopted by the Barhut artists. They are clad in the garments of bark or similar stuff just covering up their loins and thighs. Their upper garment is worn like a badge, and it transversely passes round their left shoulders and the right sides of their breasts below their arm-pits. They are carrying kamaṇḍalus or some kind of alms-bowls in their left hands. It is very likely that there were five of them. It is certain, as Cunningham says, there was room in the bas-relief, when it was complete, for two more on the right.

There are only two Buddhist stories which can be brought forward to explain these details. The one suggested by Cunningham is the Lalita-Vistara story of the arrest of progress of five Ṛishis when flying above the hallowed spot, where Prince Siddhārtha, the Bodhisattva, then a mere boy, remained, lost in ecstasy under a rose-apple tree during the Śākyan festival, annually celebrated in connection with the ploughing match.[2] The other that we may suggest is the Pāniya-Jātaka (F. 459), giving a description of the flght of five Pratyeka-Buddhas from their distant Himalayan abode towards the City of Benares and back. But comparing them, we cannot but prefer the one selected by Cunningham. The Pāniya-Jātaka has nothing to tell us about the presence of the fire-altar and motionless standing of the ascetics over it, and what is more, its description of the hair and other characteristics of the Pratyeka-Buddhas does not fit in with the Barhut representation of the ascetics. According to the Jātaka description, the hair of a Pratyeka-Buddha is two fingers long, a pair of red garments are

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 99. 2 Lalita-Vistara, Ch. XI.

wrapt round him, a waist-band of yellow colour is tied about him, the upper robe of red colour is thrown over one shoulder, another paṁsukula garment lies on his shoulder, and a bee-brown earthen bowl dangles from over his left shoulder when he flies or stands poised in mid-air. Most of these details are done justice to by the Barhut ascetics. But they, unlike the Pratyeka-Buddhas of the Jātaka, wear two garments instead of three, and their alms-bowls or kamaṇḍalus are carried in their left hands instead of dangling from over their left shoulders. The five Ṛishis of Cunningham's story are typically the ascetics as they are represented in the Barhut sculpture. It explains the cause of the sudden arrest of the progress of the ascetics when they were journeying through the air from the south towards the north. On enquiry, they came to know that their power of miraculous force was counteracted by the overpowering majesty of the Bodhisattva meditating in the forest-grove beneath. The story relates that the Bodhisattva appeared to the ascetics as a luminary shining with light emitted from his body, and to Śuddhodana his father, as a fire issuing from a mountain-peak and glorious like a lamp.

7. **Pl. XX.** Piece of Gateway Pillar. Found at Pataora. Face (half cut away) [Scene 18] :—Arahaguto devaputo.[1]

"Angel Arhadgupta—the protector of the Arhats."

Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa: Bodhisattva's Great Renunciation.

This bas-relief depicts a continuous scene of the Great Renunciation of the Bodhisattva, Prince Siddhārtha. The scene is divided into three stages, represented one below the other. In the first stage, the Bodhisattva is stepping out by the main doorway of the royal palace of King Śuddhodana ; in the second, passing out on horseback through the city-gate of Kapilavāstu, and in the third, riding on ahead. We have just a front view of the palace which is a strong and magnificent building. Its roof is completely broken off. The surviving fragment shows three pillars in front. It appears that there were four pillars in all when the scene was complete. Each of these is an ashṭapada,—a pillar with an octagonal shaft. It has a bell-shaped capital with a full-blown lotus at the top. Its abacus, which is usually a square stone-slab, is surmounted by a big mongoose-like animal. Its pedestal (padasthāna) bears a vase and lotus design. Two female deities stand between the three pillars, one in the left with joined hands, the other in the right placing the right hand below her breast and keeping the left hand suspended at full length. The deities, among other notable points, stand each upon a stone-seat of lotus-leaf with a

1 Barua & Sinha, No. 153.

5

gracefully curved stalk, springing from the bottom of the middle slab of the plinth of the pillar in the left. This is unmistakably an outer detail of the lotus-design in the pedestal. The representation of the palace is far below the literary description. Its doorway is represented by a slanting path between two pillars, while two outgoing footprints with the usual wheel-marks represent the Bodhisattva's stepping out of the palace. It is possible that one deity has been shown twice, in two different attitudes, in one doing honour to the Bodhisattva and in the other expressing her sorrow at the Prince's departure from his father's palace, leaving it in darkness and utter gloom. She is the Rājalakshmī who stands with a sad face (dīnamanā) before the Prince when he is going away. According to the Lalita-Vistara description,[1] she is the Daivata-lakshmī, and according to the Mahāvastu story,[2] she is the presiding deity of the city (nagara-devatā), who stood thus before the Prince when he was leaving the city, and not the palace. There must have been something in the palace to indicate the dead of night. Numerous small flowers are scattered over the ground both within and outside the city. This is precisely what it should be according to literary descriptions, where the deities and demi-gods are said to have freely scattered showers of flowers (muktapushpa-varshāṇi), of such celestial blossoms as mandāraka and the rest. Within the city we see three deities standing on the ground, one in the left holding a yaksha's tail by the upraised right hand, two with joined hands, and all watching with interest the cautious leading of the horse Kaṇṭaka by the attendant Chhandaka, or it may be, a deity, who walks ahead of and along with the noble charger, holding the hanging loose outer end of the reins with his right hand. According to the Pāli description, the horse was 18 cubits in length, from his neck to his tail, of proportionate height, white as the purest conch, and strong and fleet. Further, according to this description, the horse was properly caparisoned, and Chhandaka accompanied the Prince, holding the horse by the tail.[3] There is no other point of agreement between this description and the Barhut representation except that the horse is tastefully caparisoned. The Prince's seat on the horse-back is canopied by an umbrella with a hanging garland, while two chauris rest upon it, tail to tail on two sides of the umbrella-stick, the face of one lying slantingly towards the head, and that of the other lying erect towards the tail, of the horse. Instead of walking on the ground, the horse is being led along the pillared city-wall which looks like a parapet of stone, composed of projections and receding posts tied together. The horse went out ultimately through the city-gate which is indicated by a slanting

1 Lalita-Vistara, Ch. XV. 2 Mahāvastu, II, p. 164. 3 Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 162.

path in the left, presumably with outgoing hoof-marks of the horse. In the Pāli account[1] we find it stated that Chhandaka resolved to take the Prince on his right shoulder and the horse on his left and leap over the ramparts of the city, if the gate were not open, while the horse resolved in view of the same obstacle to leap over the barrier with the Prince on his back and Chhandaka holding his tail. But this was unnecessary as they found the gate thrown open by the deities. The leading of the horse by a deity is quite compatible with the Lalita-Vistara story, in which Chhandaka is asked to make over the charge of the horse to Śakra and Brahmā, who went ahead, along with the noble charger. None of the deities is seen carrying torches. It is difficult to make out who the deities are. The part played by Māra does not find its place in the scene.

In the third stage outside the city we see the Angel Arhadgupta standing, with joined hands and dignified appearance, in the left, having on his left side two other deities, the deity in the right extremity standing with joined hands and the second deity in the middle expressing by the significant attitude of his right hand the imperceptible progress of the horse with the Bodhisattva on his back, as he is moving on before their eyes. There stand, below the horse, one deity in the left with joined hands and two on his left side, playing on Indian drums with two hands. All these serve to indicate a triumphal procession. The crossing of the river Anomā is not at all represented. The sight of the sleeping dancing women in the bed-chamber of the Prince, the Prince's lingering looks, as he still stood at the doorway, at his newly born son sleeping in his mother's bosom, and the letting off of Chhandaka and Kaṇṭaka on the bank of the Anomā are some of the important details that pass unrecognised.

8. Pl. XVI.—West Gate. Corner. Ajātaśatru Pillar. Left Side. Upper Bas-Relief [Scene 39] :—

Bhagavato chūḍāmaho.[2]
Sudhaṁmā devasabhā.[3]
Vejayaṁta-pāsāde.[4]
"The Festival in honour of the Divine Being's dressed hair-lock."
"The Council-Hall of the gods."
"In the Palace of Victory."

In this square panel we see charming representations of the Palace of Victory and Council-Hall of the gods, which occupy its upper part and larger half. The strip

1 Nidāna-Kathā. 2-4. Barua & Sinha, Nos. 154—156.

below represents an open ground or a courtyard in front of the Palace and the Hall. The scene, as described in one of the incised labels, is that of a grand Festival, held for commemorating the incident of cutting the dressed hair-lock by the Bodhisattva, Prince Siddhārtha, leading to his self-initiation into asceticism (pravrajyā). The Palace which stands in the right is a three-storeyed building, each storey of which is separated from the other by a Buddhist railing, with two rail-bars instead of three. In its front view, the lowest storey appears to be an open-pillared hall, with two plain octagonal pillars at two corners. The upper storeys present two projecting halls with wings on either side. The second storey has three arched doors or windows with semi-circular hood-mouldings, through each of which a goddess peeps out, watching the festival that is going on below. A roof-like profile rests over these openings. The third storey is provided with a solid roof with semi-circular ends and two arched doors or windows, through which two goddesses are looking out. In the open-pillared hall Śakra or Indra, the king of the gods, is seated in his throne in the middle, attended by two goddesses on each side, those on his right hand side holding up chauris, one with her right hand and the other with her left. Vaijayanta is mentioned in the Jātaka-Commentary as Śakra's palace, which received the name 'Palace of Victory' because it arose in the hour of victory in a battle which the gods fought with the demons. In the light of the Kulāvaka-Jātaka (F. 31,) the four attending goddesses can be identified with Sudharmā, Chitrā, Nandā and Sujātā. According to the Sudhābhojana-Jātaka, Śakra's palace Vaijayanta was a thousand leagues high and his throne was made of yellow marble, sixty leagues in extent. Śakra himself is said to have been accompanied by a glorious array of twentyfive millions of heavenly nymphs. All these details are not fully represented in the Barhut scene. The lower part of the Council-Hall in the left, like that of the Palace of Victory, is surmounted with a Buddhist railing. The Hall itself consists of two open-pillared square courts, one within the other, the outer court supplying the inner one with a verandah on each side. The inner court, composed of four plain octagonal pillars,[1] is covered with a domed roof, adorned with a single pinnacle at the top. The verandahs are covered with a continuous sloping roof. The verandah on the front side, which is actually represented, shows a high arched doorway with hood-moulding

The gods of the Heaven of the Thirty-Three hold a Festival in enshrining the Bodhisattva's dressed hairlock.

1 Fausböll, Jātaka. No. 541 (translation) :

"This is Sudhammā, where the gods assemble,
Supported by fair columns, finely wrought,
Eight-sided, made of gems and jewels rare".

This doorway opens into a projected square and an ornamented staircase with several steps leads to it, dividing the railing. Inside this hall we see a cubical seat and a tray placed upon it. The seat bears on its sides the garland and hand-designs. The tray contains flower-wreaths and other precious things, and over them it shows the Bodhisattva's dressed hair-lock. A god, probably Śakra himself, stands on the right, doing honour to the jewel-crest with joined hands, while another god standing on the left is making religious offering with his right hand. A parasol with two hanging garlands stands as canopy over the seat, tray and head-dress. The Kulāvaka-Jātaka says that the gods' Goodness-Hall was named after the pious lady Sudharmā who was born as a handmaiden of Śakra and by virtue of whose gift of a pinnacle (karṇikāra) there arose for her this mansion, studded with heavenly jewels, five hundred leagues high. It is in this mansion that Śakra, ruling men and the gods, sat under a white canopy of royal state. According to the Divyāvadāna description, this is the Hall where the gods of the Thirty-three and four regents of the quarters held deliberations over mundane and celestial affairs. This is the ideal construction to which all grand halls or courts built by the human hand, have been likened in Indian literature[1]. The great festivity has been represented by a sectional device, as though in the open courtyard below, where four heavenly maidens are characteristically dancing on the left, and three are singing on the right, clapping their hands, in the midst of four musician gods, one, standing up, striking a round bell-metal with a small stick, one, sitting cross-legged, playing with his two hands on the right-hand-drum, leaving aside for a moment the left-hand-drum, and the remaining two, seated cross-legged, playing on harps. The subject of illustration is a scene of the festival, known as Chūḍāmaha, held in the Heaven of the Thirty-three, when Śakra enshrined the jewel-crest or dressed hair-lock, cut off by the Bodhisattva with a sharp sword and thrown up into the air. Buddhist literature contains a very simple description of this incident, which is as follows :—

After letting off Chhandaka and Kaṇṭaka from the bank of the Anomā, the Bodhisattva, as a prelude to his adoption of ascetic life, cut off his hair and threw it upwards, saying, "If I am to be a Buddha, let my hair remain in the sky. and if I am not to become a Buddha, let it fall to the ground." But it remained suspended in the air, at a great height, like the beautiful bird kālahaṁsa, the black duck. To preserve it, Śakra brought a large golden casket, which he deposited in a mound,

1 Mahāummagga-Jātaka (F. 546) ; Khila Harivaṃśa, Vishṇuparva, Ch. LVIII.

placing the hair in it. This is what we are told in the Pāli Nidāna-Kathā.[1] Other descriptions[2] expressly refer to the great festival which we find well represented in the Barhut scene.

Festive decoration on Bodhisattva's way towards the Bodhi-Tree.

9. Pl. XXX. 4 [Scene 40] :—This is apparently a decorative design carved in a medallion, which is slightly broken in the middle. It presents two tāla or fan-palm trees standing in a row, at some distance from each other, before an open-pillared building with an upper storey supported upon a railing-like structure. As Cunningham observed, the spreading pointed leaves of the trees are successfully represented, and the peculiar appearance of the trunks of the trees is also happily shown.[3] The shafts of the pillars, as usual, are octagonal. The bell-capital of each pillar bears over it a big lotus-design. The abacus is made of two interesting cross-bars. The railing is made up of uprights joined by three rail-bars and covered by a coping. The edifice above has two ornamented arched windows or niches, where two human figures can be seen seated cross-legged, with their hands bent at right angles, their right hands being placed on the palms of their left hands. Their heads are covered with turbans. The peculiar earrings worn by them go to show that they are not ordinary human beings but some gods or demi-gods. Their appearance shows a calm demeanour. The dome-shaped roof is surmounted by three small pinnacles between which there are two large birds on the roof, sitting in opposite directions, the tail of one to the right touching the back of the other to the left, the bird to the left turning back towards the one to the right. The gods or demi-gods are evidently watching from their mansions some spectacle below. If so, we have reasons to believe that here we have a representation of ratna-vyomakas or jewelled-ærial mansions set up, as described in the 19th chapter of the Lalita-Vistara, by the gods of the Kāmāvachara heavens as part of decorations of the road by which the Bodhisattva proceeded from the Nairañjanā to the Bodhi-tree. It is said that the carrolling of śuka, śārikā, kokila, kalaviṅka, jīvañjīvaka, haṁsa, krauñcha, mayūra and chakravāka added much to the loveliness of the scene.

1 Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 165. The Tibetan story says that the stūpa was built on the spot, where the Prince cut off his hair and beard, by the faithful Brahmins and householders, See Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, pp. 25-26.

2 Lalita-Vistara, Ch. XV, Mahāvastu, II. p. 166.

3 Stūpa of Bharhut, p, 47.

ii. FROM SANTIKE-NIDĀNA—
NEAR-AT-HAND SECTION—

1. Pl. XIX. N. Gate.—Corner Pillar [Scene 41] :—
Brahmadevo mānavako.
"The youthful Rūpabrahma deity."

Māra-Vijaya :— Victory over Māra : Congratulation by the Rūpabrahma deities on the eve of Buddha's attainment of Buddhahood.

This important scene has been executed in two square panels on the same face of a corner pillar. The upper panel presents a two-storeyed celestial mansion, the upper story being apparently supported upon four tall pillars, with octagonal shafts and bell-capitals ornamented with festoons, touching each other. This storey is usually provided in front with a uniform Buddhist railing, and two arched doors or windows on either side, containing three small pillars between them. It is, moreover, covered by a long barrel-vault roof, with seven or presumably nine small pinnacles. Six deities, whose heads and faces can only be seen, are peeping out through the arched openings and the intervening spaces of these openings and three pillars, evidently watching some interesting occurrence below. Looking at the open-pillard hall below, surrounded by a railing, our attention is at once drawn to a male deity majestically passing out through the high-arched opening of a gate-chamber at the left corner, mounted on a mighty elephant, while four other male deities are slowly and cautiously walking one behind the other, towards the gate-chamber, behind the narrow railing-wall. The deity in front of all carries a small ball-like thing in his left hand, while with the out stretched palm of his upraised right hand, he is pointing out the deity who is going out or asking others who are following him to halt or proceed cautiously. The second deity, coming behind him carries a tray, full of numerous small objects, probably articles of food or various kinds of precious gems. The upper edge of the tray is tilted against his breast, while its lower edge is held, in the middle, by his left hand, bent to form a right angle. The third deity similarly carries a tray with several pieces of square coins, arranged in two rows, while the fourth deity bears another tray, containing a diadem or crown. These four deities, like the one on the elephant's shoulder, wear beautiful earrings, necklaces, breastlets, bracelets and armlets. The purpose in their walking towards the gate-chamber is either to mount the elephants or to hand over certain articles to the deities, passing out through the gateway. The attitude of right hand of the deity on the elephant clearly indicates that some other deities are coming behind him, whom he is asking to proceed slowly. Anyway, we see in the upper half of the lower panel, placed between two tall octagonal pillars,

five deities mounted, with a fixed gaze, on five elephants, four of whom remain standing, side by side, in a line, and the fifth in the middle is kept in the background for want of space. Each of these elephants is a magnificent animal, nicely caparisoned. A piece of garland is put round the crown of the head, and two bells hang down to the knees of the forelegs. The upper part of the trunk is tastefully painted. It may be that an ornamental front-covering is hanging upon the forehead. These elephants are all quarter-rangers (disāgajas, diggajas)[1]. The rider in the middle of the five has a label incised below him, giving his name as 'Brahmā, the youthful angel'. This angelic deity holds the goad by the left hand, and holds up a chauri or yak's tail fan by the right. The deity on his right hand side holds the goad by the left hand, and bears up a garlanded parasol by the right. What the second deity on his right hand side holds up by the right hand cannot be ascertained, as this part of the panel is completely broken off. The deity on his left hand side holds the goad by the right hand, and holds up a tray, held up by a second deity on this side by the right hand. In the third position we see that Brahmā has alighted from the elephant's shoulder, and stands, holding the goad, in front of the elephant, directing the animal to stand raising his joined forelegs, in an attitude of reverent supplication, before Aśvattha, the Bodhi-Tree of Buddha Śākyamuni. The fourth position clearly shows that all the five deities have alighted on the gronnd. Four of them stand in a line, with joined hands, while Brahmā, their leader, is kneeling on the ground in paying reverence to the Diamond Throne. It is usually canopied by a garlanded parasol. Further below, a human figure stands at the lower corner of the left hand side of the Vajrāsana, and tries to raise and overthrow it by his back. He is no other than Māra, the vanquisher of a man following the noblest pursuit.

The scene represents the concluding part of Siddhārtha's battle with Māra. According to later Buddhist legends, Siddhārtha and Māra were contesting the superiority, in both quantity and quality, of the gifts each had made. Māra called his hosts to witness, while Siddhārtha invoked the benign Earth-deity to give evidence. The Earth-deity, in giving evidence, caused a mighty stream to flow, which served to sweep away the battalions of Māra. As soon as the battle was over, the Nāgas cried out to the Nāgas, the Suparṇas to the Suparṇas, the Devas to the Devas, and the Brahmas to the Brahmas : "Māra

1 Barua Sinha, No. 157.

2 The descent of a deity from the heaven mounted on this kind of elephant is described in the Vimānavatthu (No. 60).

is overcome, Prince Siddhārtha is the conqueror, let us make a celebration of his victory (jayapūjā)". Thus all of them came, perfumes and garlands in their hands, from the ten thousand spheres, and assembling on all sides of the Bodhi-terrace where the Prince was seated cross-legged, made offerings by way of doing honour, and respectfully stood, uttering praises. The 23rd. chapter of the Lalita-vistara beautifully describes how each class of angels and deities came down to praise the Prince, taking with them flowers, wreaths, frankincense, perfumes, garments, umbrellas, flags, banners, nets of gems, and various other objects of worship.

The Barhut scene seems to illustrate only the visit of the Brahmakāyika deities, with Subrahmā at the head. It is likely that in the Barhut story these deities also play the part of the Earth-deity in bearing witness to the gifts, made by the Bodhisattva during his many previous births.

Buddha Gautama's Jewel-Walk.

2. Pl. XXXI. 4 [Scene 42] :—This bas-relief, as studied by Cunningham, gives a view of a large building, containing four seats, with garlands hanging over them, the seats being no other than the thrones of the four Buddhas. He suggests that the human hands sculptured on the side of each throne may be taken to be a symbolical representation of a crowd of human worshippers. The main features of the building, according to his observations, are a large open hall supported on octagonal pillars with bell capital and an upper storey with three arched windows, the whole being covered by a long dome-shaped roof, surmounted by ten small pinnacles.

If it was the intention of the sculptors to represent here the Vajrāsanas or Thrones of the Buddhas, they would have also depicted the Bodhi-Trees. Further, the Barhut convention decisively shows that no other scene except one connected with Buddha Gautama is canopied by umbrellas, whether represented in full or indicated by the garlands hanging therefrom. Applying this as a test, we cannot think of connecting the scene with any other Buddha than Śākyamuni. What we actually have are not four seats but a long platform between two rows of pillars. The absence of the Bodhi-trees indicates that the scene is other than that of the Bodhimaṇḍa. Indeed, we cannot resist the temptation of thinking with Dr. Kramrisch that here we have an artistic representation of the famous Ratana-Chaṁkama or Jewel-Walk where the Buddha is said to have spent the second week following his enlightenment. And we may here point out that Cunningham himself corrected his mistake and took the platform to be a representation of the jewel-walk or promenade, the flowers carved on the top being intended, according to him, "to mark the spots of Buddha's foot-prints".[2]

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 121.

2 Mahābodhi, p. 10.

3. Bhagavato paṁchasanaṁ. (?)[1]
"The five seats of the Divine Being." (?)

Buddha spent his five weeks on five spots around the sacred Bo Tree.

After the attainment of Buddhahood, the Buddha spent full seven weeks in Uruvilvā, on the bank of the Nairañjanā. In the first week he remained sitting cross-legged upon the Bodhimaṇḍa, feeling the great joy of victory and success. During the second week he remained in a sitting posture on a spot to the north-east of the Bo-Tree, gazing at it, keeping his eyes always fixed, upon it and meditating. He spent the third week in walking upon the Jewel-walk, from end to end. During the whole of the fourth week, he resided in the Jewel-house, developing the chain of reasoning and reflecting on its effects and possibilities. In the fifth week, he enjoyed the bliss of Nirvāṇa under the banyan tree called Ajapāla. In the sixth week, he remained near the Muchalinda-lake, guarded by the Dragon-chief Muchalinda who coiled himself round his person, spreading his great hood over his head, as a means of protection during storm and rain. In the seventh week, he went to a forest of Kshīrapāla-trees, where he remained at the foot of the Rājāyatana-tree upon a seat of stone, and after passing the 49th day, accepted a gift of food from the trader brothers Trapusha and Bhalluka. In the preceding two scenes we have seen how he spent the first and third weeks. The surviving fragment of the inscription indicates that there was another bas-relief representing the scenes of the five places where he spent the remaining five weeks.

Dharmachakrapravartti Bodhisattva presents a Symbol of Wheel.

4. Pl. XXXIV. 4. [Scene 44] :—This carving in a rail-medallion contains the representation of a massive wheel set in the mortice of an octagonal pillar with a bell-capital bearing at its top the design of a full-blown lotus, while its abacus bears the figures of two antelopes, which are crouching in opposite directions. The antelopes serve unquestionably the purpose of a symbol of the Deer-Park, where the Buddha proclaimed his Dharmachakra. The wheel is beautifully fitted with the navel, the axle, the spokes and other paraphernalia. Its rim is bedecked with a continuous decorative design, while two large garlands are hanging down on its upper sides. The symbol is worshipped, on each side, by one man and one woman, the man standing up and the woman kneeling down. It appears that the man to the left was the person who put up the two garlands. This specimen of the Dharmachakra-symbol was, according to Cunningham, a favourite design with the ancient Buddhists, since a similar representation could be found at Buddha-Gayā and at Sānchi, while Fa-Hian also saw the same kind of symbol at Śrāvastī when he visited the place. This observation

is very fruitful. But Cunningham has missed two very important points : (I) that this particular specimen has been studiously kept distinct by the Barhut artist from the wheel-symbol of the Dharmachakra as proclaimed by the Buddha ; (2) that the bas-relief depicts a distinct scene from the life of the Buddha. In the Barhut representation of the symbol of Buddha's Dharmachakra, the wheel has a totally different shape, bears a most ornate finish, and is canopied. The symbol in the bas-relief does not stand for the real Dharmachakra. It is designed only as a previous suggestion.

The distinction here contemplated can be laid bare in the light of a story in the Lalita-vistara. The 26th chapter of the Lalia-vistara relates that previous to the proclamation of the Dharmachakra by the Buddha, a symbol in the form of a wheel was held before him as a suggestion. No sooner the Buddha, on his arrival at the Deer-Park in Rishipattana, sat thinking to give out to the world the immortal truths than the Bodhisattva whose mission was to suggest the way of proclaiming the Dharmachakra caused a symbol of wheel to be brought down. The wheel was resplendent with the colours of all kinds of gems, beautified with all gems, bedecked with an array of ornaments made up of all manner of precious stones, decorated with a thousand lotus-petals emitting a thousand rays, fitted with a navel and an axle, provided with the flower-garlands, the network of gold and the tinkling bells, perfumed with sweet scents, sanctified with waterpots filled to the brim, bearing the auspicious symbols Nandyāvarta and Svastika, painted with all manner of colours, set with superfine clothes, anointed with the highly fragrant floral scents, frankincense, wreaths and cosmetics, made, in short, the very paragon of excellence. Having the wheel brought down, the Bodhisattva standing with folded hands, extolled the Tathāgata by the hymns of praise.

5. Pls. XXVIII. 3. LVIII. Medallion Carving [Scene 45] :—

Jetavana Anādhapeḍiko deti koṭisaṁthatena keto.[1]

"Anāthapiṇḍika dedicates Prince Jeta's Garden after purchasing it with a layer of crores."

Gaṁdhakuṭi.[2]

"The Fragrant Cottage"

Kosaṁbakuṭi.[3]

"The Perfumed Cottage."

1-3. Barua Sinha, Nos. 161-163.

Here, in the foreground, Cunningham sees a bullock-cart, with the unyoked bullocks sitting beside it, and with the yoke tilted up in the air to show that the cart has been unloaded. In front are two men, each holding a very small object between his thumb and forefinger. These two may be taken to be Anāthapiṇḍika himself and his treasurer, counting out the gold pieces brought in the cart. Above them are two other figures seated, and busily engaged in covering the surface of the garden with the gold coins, which are here represented as square pieces touching one another. These square pieces are surely intended for representing the gold coins with which Anāthapiṇḍika was to cover the whole area of the garden as its price.

Dedication of the Jetavana monastery, built in Prince Jeta's Garden, purchased by Anāthapiṇḍika.

To the left are six other figures, who seem to be Prince Jeta and his friends, while in the very middle of the composition there is Anāthapiṇḍika himself carrying a vessel, just like a tea-kettle, in both hands, for the purpose of pouring water over the Buddha's hands as a proof of the completion of his gift. Two temples and four trees represent the garden. The temples are respectively labelled Gaṁdhakuṭi and Kosaṁbakuṭi, which did not from any part of the original garden of Prince Jeta. To the right of the Kosaṁbakuṭi and below the Gaṁdhakuṭi there is a single mango-tree surrounded by a railing, which is, without doubt, intended for the holy mango-tree, the stone of which was planted by Ānanda according to Buddha's instruction. The remaining three are the sandal trees which were left standing, while the rest of the scene illustrates the famous story of the purchase of the garden with as many gold pieces us would suffice to cover its surface. The story is sufficiently well told by the sculptor who has wisely limited his work to a few of its leading features, such as the largeness of the sum of money which required a cart for its conveyance, the counting of the coins, and the spreading of the gold pieces over the whole surface of the garden. The chief interest of the scene lies in the two temples, which are actual representations of two buildings. Their insertion is an anachronism, as the temples could not have been built until after the purchase of the garden. If they had been buildings without names, they might perhaps have been looked upon as simple garden houses. The sculptor has apparently aimed at giving a view of the great Buddhist vihāra of Jetavana, in illustrating the story of its erection by Anāthapiṇḍika. The Kuṭi, in the two specimens, is a single-storeyed building, enclosing an altar or throne, with a garland hanging over it. It has an arched doorway, which is surmounted by a second arch-like hood-moulding. The roof of the Kosaṁbakuṭi is a dome, with a small pinnacle on the top ; but that of the Gaṁdhakuṭi has gable ends with a pinnacle at each end.

We appreciate the suggestion that the scene illustrates not merely the story of dedication of Prince Jeta's Garden after it was purchased from its owner but that of dedication of the garden after it had been converted into a Buddhist monastic residence with all new additions of cottages, houses and sheds, made by Anāthapiṇḍika and Prince Jeta. The clean surface of the plot of land and the four trees represent the condition of the garden after all the useful trees but the sandal and mango were cut down and the ground was made perfectly level as a proof of the fact of possession. Of the four trees shown in the bas-relief, three in the upper part of the right half are sandal trees and one on the right side of the the Kosambakuṭi is a mango-plant with hanging bunches of fruits. The latter is not the mango-tree planted by Ānanda according to Buddha's instruction. The mango-tree referred to by Cunningham was planted by Gaṇḍa, the gardener, on a spot lying midway between Jetavana and the city-gate of Śrāvastī. We nowhere see the presence of Anāthapiṇḍika's treasurer in the scene. In the right half of the medallion where the sculptor represents the story of the gold pieces, brought in a bullock-cart, we encounter in the lower part just a scene of unloading after the bullocks were unyoked, and the conveyance was tilted up to facilitate the work. The carter himself, characteristically sitting on the ground before the lower end of the cart, is carefully counting the loads of gold pieces, layer after layer, block after block, and handing them over to Anāthapiṇḍika who is seen standing before him, on the left side of the cart, as much at a time as the banker could conveniently hold in the fold of his hands. The carter, whilst the forefingers of his two hands are yet resting on two gold pieces, is inquisitively looking at the banker to be assured that his counting is not incorrect. One of the hired labourers, who appears to be an old idiot, is carrying, at an unusually slow pace, a heavy load of gold pieces in an open cylindrical holder, held over the back of his shoulder, bent under its weight, grasping its circular edges with his two hands from two sides, while two clever men, who are engaged, face to face, in symmetrically covering the ground are awating his arrival, in a significant attitude of forbearance, as they have no work to do for want of material. It is clear that the banker himself is busy passing the gold pieces to the hands of the carrier, who takes them finally to the place of work after tightly setting them inside the holder. The pieces are of irregular shape and size, and a fortiori of varying weight. Most of them are four-sided and a few are round, but none is perfectly circular, square or rectangular. Many of them bear punch and Svastika marks, and none is without an imprint. It seems that a melted bullion with different imprints has been cut into several pieces, each retaining an imprint on it. According to the Jātakanidāna-kathā. these are hiraṇya-

kārshāpaṇas, the stamped or imprinted gold coins, as distinguished from the brick-shaped or tortoise-shaped gold-bullions, used by former bankers in covering the ancient site of Jetavana[1]. The two men, who are covering the ground, are not using any tools, because the pieces are sufficiently handy and strong to be used. when necessary, as hammer. Though the suggestion is somewhat remote, from their action we may also infer that the banker and the carter are considering whether the last cartload, which is being exhausted, would suffice to cover the remaning part. In the left half, there are representations of two private chambers of the Buddha, the Gandhakuṭi and the Kosambakuṭi, and these are well described by Cunningham.

These two cottages with the cubical seats and overhanging garlands symbolise Buddha's arrival, presence and acceptance of the monastic residence as a permanent gift. According to Buddhist literary tradition, the Gandhakuṭi was built in the middle or interior of Jetavana,[1] and the Kosambakuṭi on the border.[2] The Sutta-nipāta-Commentary mentions Gandhakuṭi, Karerimaṇḍalamāla, Kosambakuṭi and Chandanamāla as the four main cottages used by Buddha as his private chambers (nivāsāgāra).[3] To the right and a little below the Kosambakuṭi, we see a small shed or cell with a railing-like wall. We cannot say what it is ; it may be intended to represent the foundation of a new building. But it is certainly not a railing surrounding the mango-tree which stands just on a side of it, with a high square mound of earth at its foot. The banker Anāthapiṇḍika stands before the Gandhakuṭi, keeping its doorway on his right hand side, with a big ornamented water-jug, for pouring water out of it as an act of merit and a formality in making the religious gift. He gently stands, with his dignified mien, the jug held in his hands and the loose upper garment passing over his left shoulder. On the left side of the Gandhakuṭi, and just behind the Kosamba, Prince Jeta stands, with joined hands and princely majesty, at the head of a number of men, who accompanied him and participated in the function.

These details lie scattered in several stories, and are put together in the Ceylonese version based upon some older Indian legend which the Barhut sculptor had before him. All the versions say that after inviting the Buddha to visit Śrāvastī and spend the rainy season there, the banker Sudatta, the Supporter of the Destitute, looked for a suitable site for the erection of a monastic residence in the suburb of Śrāvastī, and his choice fell upon the garden of Prince Jeta, a son of King Prasenajit's. In

1 Fausboll's Jātaka, I. p. 94.

1 Fausboll's Jātaka, I. p. 92.

2 Sāratthа-Pakāsini, Siamese Ed., I. p. 361.

3 Paramatthajotikā, II. p. 403.

agreeing to sell the garden the prince made a bargain with the banker that he must pay him as many gold pieces as would be required to cover the whole site. Accepting this bargain, the banker ordered his men to cut down the trees and level the ground. Meanwhile the prince changed his mind and was unwilling to sell his garden. As the banker would not give up his right, the matter was referred to the minister in charge of the admistration of justice, and the case was decided against the prince[1]. But was the bargain really accepted ? The Ceylonese version says that the prince and the banker went together to the garden, and saw that all the useful trees but the mango and sandal were cut down, and the whole place was made perfectly level. The banker commanded his treasurer to bring out from his stores of wealth as many gold pieces as would be necessary. He emptied seven stores in sending 18 crores, which sufficed to cover the whole of the site minus the entrance. The prince prevented the banker ordering for any more pieces, as he thought the amount brought in was sufficient, The money was brought in the cart, in a thousand bundles, while a thousand men, each taking up a bundle, covered the garden. This transaction being completed, the banker began new building-operations, the erection of the monastic residence, costing him 18 crores. over and above the donations received from his friends. He spent another 18 crores in celebrating a feast and in daily alms set up for nine months from the time of dedication of the monastic residence to the Buddhist order, whether present or absent. According to some stories, the prince built with the whole of the 18 crores he had received a vestibule on that part of the garden, not covered with gold.[2] The Ceylonese version says that he built a seven-storeyed place at each of the four sides of the garden.[3] On the approach of the Master to the city, he was received with great honour, and met by a splendid procession, composed of different companies of men, women, boys and girls with 500 persons in each, carrying vessels and emblems, headed by different members of the banker's family. The banker himself escorted the Master to the monastie residence, and poured water from a golden jug upon the hands of the Teacher in offering the residence to the whole Buddhist order. In the Khuddaka-Pāṭha-Commentary on the Maṅgala-Sutta we read that the residence was named Jetavana after prince Jeta, and Anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāma after the banker. The Tibetan story says that the Buddha himself, in honour of the two donors, called the place Jeta's Park and Anāthapiṇḍika's Grove.[4]

---

1 Vinaya Chullavagga, VI. 4, 9 ; Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, p. 48 ; Fausböll's Jātaka, I. p. 92 ; Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 224.

2 Chullavagga, VI. 4. 9 ; Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, p. 48 ; Commentry on the Maṅgala-Sutta.

3 Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p. 225.

4 Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, p. 49.

6. Pl. XXXI. 3 [Scene 50] :—Here Cunningham finds a fine specimen of a Bodhi-Tree on a long Rail-bar. There is no label attached to it ; but the foliage is so distinct from that of the Bodhi-Trees of the last three Buddhas that one can feel certain that it is intended for Śirisha, the Bodhi-Tree of Krakuchchhanda. The trunk is surmounted by a two-storeyed building, and in the courtyard there is an isolated pillar surmounted by an elephant. The details are quite different from those of the Bodhi-Tree of Śākyamuni. The building, has three arched openings in front. It is probably a square building, with the same number of openings on all sides, somewhat similar to the present Bāradāri or Twelvedoor summer-house. The trunk of the Bodhi-Tree with the Vajrāsana is seen in the middle opening, and pendent garlands in the side openings. The two storeys are separated by an ornamental railing. In the centre appears the upper part of the Bodhi-Tree breaking through the roof, and on each side a small arched window or niche, with a garland hanging inside. Garlands are also pendent from the branches of the tree. The style of roof is uncertain, but as it has rounded ends, it must be covered by a dome.[1]

Stories of royal personages doing honour to the Bodhi-Tree.

The isolated pillar, surmounted by an elephant facing the Bodhi-Tree in the centre, has a round shaft. The Bodhi-Tree is not Śirisha or Acacia ; it is Aśvattha or holy Pippala. The foliage, leaves and small round fruits confirm this identification. The trees standing on three sides of the Bodhi-Tree and turned towards it are also Aśvattha. The hanging garlands in the side openings presuppose royal umbrellas over the small Jewel seats of the Buddha. These are, according to Barhut convention, a distinctive feature of a scene connected with the present life of Śākyamuni. It is no less important that two royal personages are seen perambulating the Bodhi-Tree and shrine, with joined hands, held in front. It is very probable that the scene is based upon stories similar to those of the Kāliṅga-bodhi-Jātaka and its Introductory Discourse (F. 479).

The citizens of Śrāvastī wanted a place in Jetavana for worship of the Buddha in his absence. When the Master was away from the city, the people once came, bringing fragrant wreaths and flowers as offerings, which they laid by the gateway of the Perfumed chamber (Gandhakuṭi). Anāthapiṇḍika brought the matter to the notice of Ānanda, who well understood the people's need. He was told by the Master himself that the Bodhi-Tree used by a Buddha was the fittest shrine to pay reverence to during his life. With the Master's permission he made up his mind to plant a seed of the great Bo Tree before the gateway of Jetavana. He did all that

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 115-116, 119, 121.

was necessary to make it a great function. He procured a seed, fixed a fine evening and placed on the selected site a golden jar, with a hole in the bottom, filled with earth moistened with fragrant water. He informed King Prasenajit, the banker Anāthapiṇḍika, the lady Viśākhā, and others who were faithful and interested. They all came. He requested the king to plant the seed, handing it to him. The king passed it to Anāthapiṇḍika, commanding him to do the work. The banker stirred up the soil and dropt it in. In an instant there sprang up a Bo-sapling, fifty cubits high ; on the four sides and upwards shot forth five great branches of fifty cubits in length. "So stood the tree, a very lord of the forest already ; a mighty miracle. The king......caused to be set there a long line of vessels all full, and a seat he had made of the seven precious things, golden dust he had sprinkled about it, a wall was built round the precincts, he erected a gate chamber of the seven precious things. Great was the honour paid to it." The elder then humbly approached the compassionate Master and prayed that he might be pleased, for the people's good, to use this tree and sit beneath it for the rapture of Attainment. The Master did so during one night, granting the prayer. The function was celebrated as a Bo Festival (Bodhimaha) and the tree was known as Ānanda's Bo (Ananda-Bodhi). This very Ānanda was, in one of his former births, born as Kāliṅga, the monarch of Kaliṅga, gifted with supernatural powers. He could fly through the air. One day, he and his learned Brahmin chaplain, mounted on an elephant all white, were travelling in the sky. The elephant came all on a sudden to a dead stop. He was urged to go on, but pass he could not. The chaplain descending from the air, beheld the throne of victory of all Buddhas, the navel of the earth, and the circuit around the great Bo Tree beyond which none could pass. But the king would pierce the elephant with goad again and again, urging him on. The elephant was unable to bear the pain, and ultimetely he died. The king being told he was dead, created another beast of good breed by his magical power. The king now sat on his back, and at that very moment the dead elephant fell upon the earth. He understood the quality of the Bo circuit and terrace. He and his Brahmin chaplain humbly worshipped the great Bo Tree, with melodious sound of music and fragrant wreaths, and set a wall round it. The commentator adds, among other details, that he caused a gold-pillar to be set in the ground, eighteen cubits high. It was a wonder indeed to see grass, creepers and trees all as though standing in reverence all about with their faces turned towards the throne of the Bo Tree.

We hold that the Barhut sculptor has sought to represent by the same bas-relief the introductory episode as well as the past anecdote of the Kāliṅgabodhi-Jātaka, with the result that the two royal personages doing reverence to the Bo Tree and

shrine can be identified with King Prasenajit and Banker Anāthapiṇḍika in one instance, and with King Kāliṅga and Brahmin chaplain in the other.

The Buddha performs the Twin-miracle in Śrāvasti at the foot of Gaṇḍa's Mango-tree

7. Pl. XVII. W. Gate. Corner. Ajātaśatru Pillar. Right Side. Lower Bas-Relief [Scene 46]:—This bas-relief presents in the centre a jewel-seat, no doubt, of Buddha Śākyamuni, usually canopied by a royal umbrella with hanging garlands, at the foot of a full-grown mango-tree with five main branches and many bunches of flowers and fruits. The cubical seat bears upon it numerous leaf and flower marks, which may be impressions of the offerings made. The frieze of the front side shows a continuous rope, chain and pot design. Nine men stand in front of the seat, and six on two opposite sides, three on each side, all eagerly witnessing and watching some unusual phenomenon before them, with hands placed below their chins either joined in an act of supplication or clasped in an act of clapping. In fact, from their manner of standing, general behaviour and attitude it is clear that an orderly crowd of men has gathered round the terrace, struck with awe, adoring and admiring. Five men, who stand behind the seat, in line with the tree, three on the right and two on the left, are distinguished from the rest by their superior dignity, necklaces and drapery. There is nothing particular to note in the mode of expression of three of these men, who stand behind on two sides, two on the right and one on the left. The man on the right, who stands by the tree, holds his lower lip, gently pressing it between the first two fingers of his left hand, while with his upraised right hand he holds a folded loose upper garment, worn on shoulders, i.e., a uttarāsaṅga, evidently waiving its upper end. This is certainly a mark of distinction of the individual, as well as of the man who stands just opposite to him as the chief figure in the whole gathering, similarly waiving the upper end of his folded garment, which is much longer as it passes round his back, over his upraised right arm and suspended left palm, leaving yet sufficient length for the hanging lower end. He wears, as an additional mark of distinction, also a breast-piece, hanging below his necklace. The presence of the mango-tree and jewel-seat in an episode of Śākyamuni's present life forms the real crux of identification, and this can be removed by explaining the details as relating to the famous scene of the Twin-miracle (Yamaka-prātihārya), lying far beyond common human powers, performed by the great Buddha in Śrāvasti, at the foot of Gaṇḍambarukkha, Gaṇḍa's Mango-tree. Buddhist literature contains, upon the whole, two different accounts, one in the Pāli[1] and the other in the Sanskrit Buddhist works[2],

1 Introductory episodes of the Sarabhamiga and Jayaddisa Jātakas (F. 483, 513); Yamakapāṭihāriyavatthu in the Dhammapada-Comy: Sinhalese version quoted in Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, pp. 300-308; etc.

2 Divyāvadāna, pp. 143-166; Tibetan version in Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, pp. 79-80; etc.

which agree in their general outline and underlying purpose, but differ in certain important details. In the former, the site of miracle is near the city-gate of Śrāvastī; in the latter, the spot is located between Śrāvastī and Jetavana. In the former, King Prasenajit attends with his retinue as a witness, as one of the onlookers and audience; in the latter, he acts as referee. In the former, the supporters of the six heretics make a pavilion for them and Śakra sends down Viśvakarmā to build a jewelled pavilion for the Buddha; in the latter, Prasenajit causes pavilions to be made for the Buddha and the heretics. In the former, the miracle is performed under Gaṇḍa's Mango-tree; in the latter, under the Karṇikāra-tree, fetched by the gardener Gaṇḍaka from Uttarakuru and planted before the Miracle-pavilion, and the Aśoka-tree, fetched by the gardener Ratnaka from Mt. Gandhamādana and planted behind this pavilion. In the former, Prasenajit waits on the Buddha, taking Anāthapiṇḍika with him; in the latter, Anāthapiṇḍika finds no mention. In the former, the seats of the gods and angels present in the gathering are not specified; in the latter, Brahmā and other angels attend, taking their seats, on the right hand side of the Exalted One, and Śakra and other gods attend, taking their seats on the left hand side. In the former, the Buddha walks up and down a jewelled walk which he had caused to be made; in the latter, he sits on a high lotus-seat which the Dragon-chiefs Nanda and Upananda had brought down. The two human figures standing on the right hand side of the tree may be taken to represent Brahmā and other angels, and the three figures on the left hand side to represent Śakra and other gods. Leaving this point aside, the Barhut artist seems to have followed a tradition more in line with the Pāli as will appear from the following summary :—

Taking advantage of the Buddha's injunction prohibiting his followers to perform miracles, the six Heretics sought favour with the people by their boasted claims to superhuman powers and feats. The Buddha taking up a suggestion from King Bimbisāra, resolved to perform the Twin-miracle in Śrāvastī to humble their pride. In the month of Āshāḍha the Buddha arrived in Śrāvastī, where near the city-gate the six Heretics induced their supporters to erect a magnificent pavilion with pillars of acacia or khadira wood. covered with blue lotus flowers. King Prasenajit offered to erect a pavilion for the Buddha. But the Buddha prevented him saying that Śakra would make the pavilion. Hearing that the Buddha would perform the miracle at the foot of a mango-tree, the Heretics took care to destroy all mango-trees for a league around and monopolise all mango-seeds. On the full-moon day of Āshāḍha, Gaṇḍa, the king's gardener, found out a ripe mango in a basket of leaves made by red ants, and offered it to the Buddha, who handed over the stone to the gardener, asking him to plant it in the ground. He did as he was told. The very

moment he washed his hands, a mango-tree sprang up, with a stalk as thick as a plough-handle, fifty cubits in height. Five great branches shot forth, each fifty cubits in length, four to the four cardinal points, and one to the heavens above. Instantly the tree was covered with flowers and fruits ; indeed on one side it bore a cluster of ripe mangoes. The king gave orders to post a guard. The tree being planted by Gaṇḍa, became known as Gaṇḍa's Mango-tree. Śakra, the king of the gods, sent Viśvakarmā to make a pavilion of the seven precious things, twelve leagues in compass covered all over with blue lotus. The gods of ten thousand spheres were gathered together. According to the Sinhalese version, the gods assembled around, unseen by all but the gardener. The deity Wind-cloud uprooted the pavilion of the Heretics. The Sun-deity checked the course of the suns to scorch them. The elements conspired to render their stay impossible. They fled helter-skelter. In the Dhammapada-Commentary we read that the Teacher erected a jewelled walk in the air, walking up and down which he performed the promised miracle. At the approach of evening, there assembled a large crowd of men, who sent up shouts of praise,—clapping their hands and waiving their loose upper garments, as the Sinhalese version says. Some of the Buddha's disciples and adherents, male and female, old and young, offered to perform miracle, far beyond the power of the Heretics. The teacher refused permission to all. In performing the miracle, the Teacher preached the Law to the admiring multitude from time to time. Even he created a reflex or double (abhinirmita) to ask him questions. When he was seated, his double walked up and down, and vice versa.

Evidently the Barhut bas-relief follows a simpler story, known at the time.

8. Pl. VXII. W. Gate. Corner. Ajātaśatru Pillar. Right Side.

Upper Bas-Relief [Scene 47] :—This square panel, like the rest that adorn the Ajātśatru Pillar, is placed between two tall pillars with octagonal shafts and bell-capitals composed evidently of Aśvattha-leaves of the holy Bodhi-Tree of Śākyamuni.

Devārohaṇa : Buddha's Ascent to the World of the gods of the Thirty-three and preaching of Abhidharma.

It shows a magnificent two-storeyed celestial mansion, the upper storey of which is usually provided with a Buddhist railing at the base, and covered by a long vaulted roof, with some nine small pinnacles on the top. The storey contains not less than five square halls with outward projections and return wings, each of which is provided in front with an arched door or window and a garland hanging therefrom. In the midst of the lower open hall we see a cubical altar throne of Buddha Śākyamuni, covered up with some flower designs between three leaf-stripes or

garland marks. It is canopied by a royal umbrella, with garlands hanging from its rim, and it stands at the foot of a full-grown tree with green verdure and peculiar majesty, six smaller branches spreading out uniformly from the central branch. Two flying angels approach and hover round the tree, showering flowers by the right hand out of a flower-shaped vase or receptacle, carried by the left. The gods have assembled together on four sides of the jewel-throne, all seated cross-legged in four rows, with their bodies covered by the upper garment donned on the left shoulder, and right shoulders left uncovered. Those in the front row face the throne, some sit behind, others in compass, with joined hands and solemnly gaze at it. As all are dressed alike, it is difficult to distinguish one from another. But it can be seen that the joined hands of two of the deities on the left, who are seated on the right hand side of the tree, touch the upper edge of the throne. The same holds true of a deity on the right, who sits on the left hand side of the tree. The depicted scene is obviously that of the Buddha's preaching of Abhidharma to his mother, now a god of the Thirty-three, in the midst of an assembly of the dwellers of this heaven. The tradition catalogues this incident by a cogent label, Devārohaṇa, Ascent of the Buddha to the World of the gods.

In all[1] but the Yamakapāṭihāriyavatthu of the Dhammapada-Commentary and its Sinhalese[2] or Burmese[3] version, we have u much shorter account which may be summed up in these few words : After he had done the Twin-miracle, the Buddha went up to the Heaven of the Thirty-three, where he began the season of rains, and seated upon the yellow-stone throne (pāṇḍukambala-silāsana),[4] under the great Coral-tree, Erythmia Indica (Pāricchatra, Pārijāta),[5] discoursed for the space of three months upon the higher method and doctrine of Abhidharma, to his mother and other gods of the Thirty-three, in the manner of all previous Buddhas."

The story of the Dhammapada-Commentary narrates, among other details, that when the Teacher seated himself on the yellow-stone throne to expound the Abhidharma to his mother, the deities of ten thousand worlds surrounded and waited upon him. As he sat there, outshining by his glory all the other deities, his mother (now a male deity) approached from the Palace of Tushita, and took her seat on his

1 Atthasālini, prologue ; Sarabhamiga-Jātaka, Introduction (F. 483) ; Divyavādana, pp. 349, 401 ; Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, pp. 80-8).

2 Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, p, 300.

3 Bigandet's Life or Legend of Guadama, I p. 224.

4 Rockhill's rendering from the Tibetan is—'the slab of white stone.'

5. According to Rockhill's rendering of the Tibetan account, "in a beautiful grove of Pārijātaka and Kobidāraka trees, he instructed his mother and a host of devas."

right hand side ; the god Indra likewise approached and sat down on his right hand, while the god Aṅkuśa sat down on his left side, twelve leagues apart. Thus seated in the midst of the assembly of the gods, for the sake of his mother, he began the teaching of the Abhidharma-Piṭaka for the space of three months without interruption. When it was time for him to go on his round for alms, he would create a double to do the work. During this time he was visited only by the Elder Sāriputta. When his discourse had been over, his mother was established in the Fruit of Conversion.

The Barhut has-relief takes no cognizance of details of the Ascent. Although the allotment of seats according to ranks of the deities on the right-hand and left-hand sides is probably a notable point of agreement with the above Commentary-story, beyond a doubt it follows a simpler scheme which agrees with the shorter accounts.

9. Pl. XVII. W. Gate. Corner. Ajātaśatru Pillar. Right Side.

Devāvataraṇa : Buddha's Descent by a Triple ladder at Sāmkāśya from the World of the Trayaśtrimśa gods and proclamation of Sāriputra's great power of comprehension of the Law.

Middle Bas-Relief [Scene 48] :—Here Cunningham observes a triple ladder that occupies the middle of the scene with a Bodhi-Tree and a Vajrāsana at its foot. The ladder is a triple flight of solid stone steps, similar in all respects to the single flight of steps which was found at W. Gateway of the Barhut Stūpa. There is one footprint on the top step, and a second footprint on the bottom step of the middle ladder. These are the footprints of the Buddha (with wheel-marks) forming in his absence the invisible objects of reverence. A number of spectators on all sides are intended to represent the crowd of kings, ministers, and people, who, according to Fa Hian, flocked to Samkāśya to await the return of the Buddha. Three flying figures, who represent, no doubt, the crowd of deities, carry flowers and garlands. The scene truly represents the Buddha's Descent by the great Ladder from the Trayaśtriṁśa Heaven[1].

This, treated as a general description, is well and good. We welcome Cunningham's identification. But we are not convinced that the tree on the right hand side of the triple ladder is a Bodhi-Tree or the cubical seat at its foot, covered over with the lotus marks and canopied by the royal umbrella and hanging garlands, is a Vajrāsana. The tree under which a Buddha attains Buddhahood or any of its offshoots is technically the Bodhi-tree. Similarly the seat upon which a Buddha remains seated when he penetrates Sambodhi, or any seat built in its exact imitation and sanctified

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 91-93.

by the Buddha by sitting upon it as he sat when he attained Sambodhi, is technically the Vajrāsana. As the tree is not Aśvattha, it cannot be the Bodhi-tree of Śākyamuni. It appears to be the heavenly tree Kovidāra, Bauhinia Variegata, though, according to the Tibetan account[1], we might have expected to find here a representation of the Udumbara or Fig Tree. All the persons who have gathered together on two sides of the ladder are not represented as mere spectators, awaiting the Buddha's return. Anyway, the persons seated cross-legged and with joined hands, in front and on the right hand side of the jewel seat, represent a congregation of hearers, listening to the words of the Master, who must be discoursing on the Law, while a flying angel, hovering over the tree, is scattering flowers by the right hand out of the familiar receptacle, carried by the left. Twelve persons, who stand with joined hands in three rows, on the left hand side of the ladder, truly represent the crowd of spectators, watching the Buddha's Descent. From their apparels they appear to be deities rather than human beings. None of the two flying angels, hovering above on this side, brings garlands and carries flowers. One flying by the ladder is seen holding up the outer end of his loose upper garment by the right hand, while he puts the first two fingers of his left hand between his lips as if whistling. The second angel flying behind him, scatters a shower of flowers in the usual manner, a fact noticed in Hwen Thsang's short description[2]. The representation of the triple ladder is not without its significance. It is so long and steep that the steps rather look like flutters of a window.

The legend of the Buddha's Descent at Saṁkāśya by a ladder has been variously told in different Buddhist works. The fact that its main points are the same in all the accounts does not minimise the importance of difference in respect of the details. The common point in all the accounts is that the Buddha descended by the middle one of the three ladders, escorted by Brahmā and Śakra, the former walking down by the ladder on the right hand side, and the latter by the ladder on the left hand side, of the Divine Teacher. As regards the details, the Tibetan account, quoted by Rockhill, is an elaboration of short notices in the Divyāvadāna,[3] and Fa Hian's notice is nothing but an elaboration of the Tibetan account. In these three accounts we are told that the Buddha on his return to the earth was first greeted by the nun Utpalavarṇā, transformed by the Teacher's divine power into a Chakravarti-rājā. Another common point is that the Master was

1 Rockhill's Life of the Buddha p. 81

2 Quoted in the Stūpaa of Bharhut, pp. 22-93

3 Divyāvadāna, pp, 384, 401.

accompanied by innumerable gods. Regarding the details, the Tibetan account adds that being informed by Maudgalyāyana that the people were anxious to see him the Buddha desired to get down to the path of men. He visited many abodes of the gods, teaching them the truth, after which he descended to the earth by a ladder of lapis lazuli, while Brahmā, bearing a jewelled yak tail, descended by a ladder of gold on the right hand side, together with all the angels of the Rūpaloka, and Śakra or Indra, bearing a hundred-ribbed parasol over him, descended by ladder of crystal on the left hand side, accompanied by all the gods, of the Kāmaloka. A new point in this account is that while in the Trayastriṁśa world, the Teacher was seated in the heavenly grove of the Pārijāta and Kovidāra trees, and when he came down, he seated himself at the foot of the Udumbara-tree in Añjanavana of Saṁkāśya. Fa Hian says : it is the ruling princes, ministers and people who assembled to await the Buddha's return, and not indefinitely the crowd of men. He also adds that Brahmā caused a silver ladder to appear on the right hand side, while Śakra caused a bright golden ladder to appear on the left. A totally new point in Fa Hian's notice is that after the Buddha had returned, the three ladders all disappeared in the earth except seven steps. Hwen Thsang differing from Fa Hian, records that it is Indra who set up all the three precious ladders, the middle one of gold, that on the right hand side, of silver, and that on the left hand side, of crystal. He also records that the three original ladders completely disappeared, while the people set up three other ladders similar to them, made of stone and brick. A new point in his record is that the crowd of deities, who accompanied the Teacher, rose aloft into the air and scattered a shower of flowers. In the Introductory episode of the Sarabhamiga-Jātaka (F. 483), we read that after the Terminal Festival of the Lent had been over, Śakra ordered Viśvakarmā to make a stairway to descend into the world of men. He placed the head of the stairway upon the peak of Mt. Sumeru, the Indian Olympus, and the foot of it by the gate of Samkāśya, between which he made three descents, side by side, one of gems, one of silver, and one of gold, the balustrade and cornice being made of the seven precious things. The Master having performed a miracle, descended by the middle descent made out of gems. Śakra carried the bowl and robe, Suyāma a yak's tail fan, Brahmā a sunshade, while the deities of ten thousand spheres worshipped him with garlands and perfumes. The Buddha was first greeted by the Elder Śāriputra at the foot of the staircase. Amid the assembly that gathered round him, the Master went on asking questions, the most difficult one being answered by Śāriputra. Thus his chief disciple's great wisdom was made known to all. A much longer and almost an independent account is contained in the Yamakapāṭihāriyavatthu of the Dhamma-

pada-Commentary, where we read, among other details, that the deities headed by Śakra, descended upon the ladder of gold on the left hand side, and Mahābrahmā and his retinue upon that of silver on the right hand side, while the Master himself walked down by the middle ladder of seven precious Jewels. Śakra had caused these ladders to be created. Mahābrahmā accompanied the Master, bearing a parasol, and Suyāma, carrying a yak's tail fan, Pañcaśikha, the celestial musician, descending on the right hand side, did honour to the Buddha with the notes of his sweet celestial lute of vilva wood, and Mātali, the charioteer, descending on the left hand side, paid honour with celestial scents, garlands and flowers. On all sides round there was a vast congregation of gods and men, who stood on the ground in an attitude of supplication. A parmanent shrine (acalacetiyaṭṭhāna) appeared on the spot where the Teacher set his right foot on the ground.

The Barhut scene has nothing to do with the details about Brahmā, Sakra and other deities accompanying the Teacher. The ladders are represented alike. The crowd of onlookers and that of hearers are composed of deities. A shrine is represented on the right hand side of the ladder, though the tree is not the Fig as it should have been according to the Tibetan account. The appearance of flying angels scattering flowers and of the crowd of deities is completely in accord with Hwen Thsang's description.

10. [Missing] Vanacaṁkamo Pārireyo. [1]

"The woodland resort Pārileya."

A serious misunderstanding broke out among the Buddha's disciples, the Bhikshus of Kauśāmbī, dividing them into two camps. The Teacher advised and entreated them not to quarrel over a small matter and amicably settle their dispute. But they would not listen. Seeing that he appealed to them in vain, the Teacher went alone, leaving them to quarrel, to a solitary woodland, where he spent one rainy season, being waited upon by the Pārileya elephant. Meanwhile the pressure which the lay supporters of the Order brought to bear upon the Bhikshus compelled them to come to terms. They sent a deputation to the Teacher, with Ānanda as the leader to beg pardon and persuade him to come away from the forest. The elephant saw him off till he passed out of the forest and died on the spot when he passed out of his sight, to be reborn into a blissful state in heaven.

Buddha spends a rainy season in a forest, being waited upon by the Pārileya elephant.

1. Barua Sinha, No. 166.

II. **Pl. XVI. W. Gate. Corner.** Ajatasatru Piller. Left Side. Lower Bas-Relief [Scene 51] :—"Ajātaśatru bows down in obeisance to the Divine Master."

Ajātasatru Bhagavato vaṁdate.[1]

Cunningham rightly observes that within the narrow limits of the small bas-relief the sculptor has contrived to represent three different phases of the story of King Ajātaśatru's visit to the Buddha. First, we have the king's procession to the garden ; then, his dismounting from the elephant near the dwelling place of the Buddha ; and lastly, his devotion at the Bodhimaṇḍa, or Throne of Buddha, which is the symbol of the Buddha. After the murder of his father, the king Ajātaśatru being unable to sleep, sought the presence of the Buddha, by the advice of his physician Jīvaka, in the hope that the great Teacher might ease his troubled mind. The king left his palace at night by torchlight, mounted on an elephant, and accompanied by 500 women, also on elephants, and a still greater number on foot. This part of the scene is represented in the lower part of the bas-relief, where the king, driving his elephant with his own hand, is followed by several women on elephants, while an attendant carries an umbrella over his head. There is no room for the representation of the city-gates of Rājagṛha. Of the garden of Jīvaka under the Vulture's Peak, there is only one trace. In the Ceylonese version the women, who were mounted on elephants, are said to have carried weapons in their hands. Here they carry only elephants' goads, and these were perhaps the only arms of the original story, which were afterwards converted into weapons. In the second portion of the scene, the dismounted king stands with his right hand raised in the attitude of addressing his followers. No doubt this is intended to represent Ajātaśatru putting the question to Jīvaka, "Where is the Buddha ?" or "Which is the Buddha ?" In both the Indian and the Ceylonese versions the Buddha is described as being seated near the middle pillar of the vihāra. Here the Buddha himself is not represented at all ; only his footprints are seen on the step or footstool in front of the Bodhimaṇḍa throne. The inscription shows that Ajātaśatru is worshipping the Buddha's footprints.[1]

King Ajātaśatru enters Jīvaka's Mango-grove to wait upon the Buddha.

There is indeed some distinction between the Canonical and Commentary versions of the story. But this distinction lies only in the matter of detail, without involving any serious disparity. The Commentary version, whereupon the Ceylonese account is based, serves to give a fuller description of the pompous royal procession within the city of Rājagṛha and till the king entered Jīvaka's Mango-grove, which

1 Barua Sinha, No. 107. 1 Stupa of Bharhut, pp. 89-90

was situated, according to Buddhaghosha, between the outer wall of the city and the Mt. Gṛdhrakūṭa. It does so without any prejudice to the Canonical version. The Barhut scene has nothing to do with this part of the story. The simplicity in the entry of the king and his female attendants (not to say guards) into Jīvaka's garden is what really adds charm to the story and the scene. The fact that the female guards, now acting as mere female companions, are dressed no longer as men, and do not carry any weapons in their hands, is precisely in keeping with the spirit of the underlying story. We do not see any Bodhimaṇḍa or Buddha's Throne in the scene, nor do we see the king Ajātaśatru worshipping the Buddha's footprints. The construction shown in the bas-relief is not strictly speaking, a vihāra or monastery. What we do see is a maṇḍala-māla, an open-pillared and covered platform, on the right end of which is the cubical jewel-seat of the Buddha, usually canopied by a royal umbrella, from the rim of which five garlands or flower-wreaths are hanging. The ornamented seat bears upon it the familiar garland and flower designs, and shows on its front side a garland design, having below it the undulating folds, and having above it the full-blown lotuses and human hands alternating with each other. The two footprints, placed side by side on the platform below, just in front of the cubical seat, are intended to represent the quarter, facing which the Buddha sat upon the seat, resting his feet on the floor. According to the Canonical story, the Buddha was at the time sitting, leaning against a middle pillar, facing east; and conforting the congregation of the Bhikkhus. The Maṇḍala-māla is here represented as an open-pillared shed, with two rows of octagonal pillars, supporting a flat rectangular roof, composed of beams and rafters and adorned with a line of a small crenellated battlements. The name maṇḍala-māla was generally applied to two kinds of building construction : (1) in some instances, to a circular one-peaked house, thatched, round a single peak, in the duck-and-quail style ; and (2) in some instances, to a circular waiting-hall, surrounded by a set of pillars. But in this instance, as Buddhaghosha points out, it means a sitting-hall, put up in a park or garden, accessible to the public.[1] A burning oil-lamp is seen hanging from the ceiling of the roof on the left side of the jewel-seat. King Ajātaśatru kneeling down on the ground, bends his head low, touching the seat

1 Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed. II. p. 256 : "Idha maṇḍalamālo vihāro ti adhippeto."

1 Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed. I. p. 58:
"Katthachid eva kaṇṇika gahetva hamsa-vattaka-channena kata kutagarasalapi mandala-malo ti vuccati. Katthaci ekam kannikam gahetva thambhapantim parikkhipitva kata upatthana-sala pi mandala-malo ti vuchchati.
Idha pana nisidina-sala mandala-malo veditabbo."

with his forehead and hands, while in an earlier phase, shown on the left, the king is seen gently advancing with joined hands towards the Master's seat, followed by his four female companions, also with joined hands. In this this king stands beside one of the octagonal pillars. The lower half of the bas-relief presents a good view of Jīvaka's Mango-grove, showing two mango-trees with hanging bunches of fruits. Here the king, who has dismounted from the elephant, stands on the right, between the trees, holding the breastlet between the forefingers of his left hand, while with his right hand raised before him he asks others to, proceed very cautiously, making no noise. His attitude shows that he is seriously thinking of something. The elephant on whom the king had mounted still remains kneeling down upon the four legs, while the female attendant sitting on the elephant's back, just above the tail, holds the goad, restraining the violent movement of the animal. In the left we have a still earlier phase,. showing the peaceful entry and arival of the royal procession in the garden, with the king at the head. The four elephant majestically stand side by side and one behind the other, the one ahead bearing the king on his shoulder, and each of the three standing behind bearing a female attendant. The attitude of the king and his female attendants, each holding the goad and pulling the elephant's head by means of two hands to restrain the motion of the animal as a preparation for dismounting is interesting. But we also notice that some one holds a garlanded parasol over the king's head from behind. The scene of dismounting clearly shows that the umbrella-bearer is a female attendant, sitting on the same elephant, behind the king. Each of the elephants is nicely caprisoned. Thus we can make out four phases in place of three suggested by Cunningham : (1) Arrival of the king in Jīvaka's garden and preparation for dismounting, (2) Dismounting, (3) Advance towards the Master's seat, and (4) Obeisance to the Master. Nothing would be more curious than that Jīvaka should be absent from the scene or that his Mango-grove should indicate his invisible presence. If the man who stands with joined hands, ahead of the female attendants, by a middle pillar of the maṇḍala-māla, be Jīvaka, we can presume that he came on the same elephant with the king, his seat having been between the king in front and the female attendant behind. If he be Jīvaka, the phases must be counted as three, and not as four. The background of the scene is in the Cononical story of which the Pāli[1] and Sanskrit versions (the latter preserved in Tibetan translations[2]) show almost a complete agreement. The Pāli Commentry version[3] is important in places where it serves to fill the lacuna. The story is as follows :—

1 Sāmaññaphala-Sutta of the Dīgha-Nikāya. I.

2 Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, pp. 95-97 ; Burnouf's Le Lotus de la bonne Loi, p. 451.

3 Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Pali Sutta ; Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, pp. 333-337.

It was a seasonal Fast-day and Festival, a glorious Full-moon night, when Ajātaśatru, the king of Magadha, was seated upon the terrace of his magnificent palace, surrounded by his courtiers. Since he caused his father's death, he was unable to sleep quietly. It was a beautiful night, but he was not at ease. He turned to his courtiers and asked them to suggest the name of a teacher whom he might wait upon for a religious conversation, and who might ease his troubled mind. They suggested the name of this teacher or that teacher, whom they knew to be the best. When all talked out, Jīvaka, the royal physician, remained silent. The king turned to him for a suggestion. He suggested the name of the Buddha who resided at the time in his mango-grove, with 1250 disciples. "Sire, there is the Blessed One, who is a teacher of many, who is honoured by many, who is revered by many, and who is passing the summer here at Rājagṛiha in my Mango-grove". "Go, good Jīvaka, and have the elephant got ready." He had the king's elephant got ready, and five hundred female ones on which rode five hundred women of the palace; bearing torches. The king majestically mounted his great elephant, and went forth from Rājagṛiha, accompained by five hundred female attendants with torches in their hands. Buddhaghosha adds that the king passing out by the eastern gate of the city, entered Jīvaka's garden, under the cover of Mt. Gṛidhrakūṭa the peak which kept the moon out of view and shades of the trees made the path appear dark and gloomy. "Friend Jīvaka", said the king, "do you not want to kill me, ensnare me, or do you not wish to deceive me, or deliver me over to the executioner, to my adversaries, or to my enemies? How is it that though, as you said, there were 1250 disciples with the Master, no voice can be heard, and a dead stillness prevails?" "Sire, the Blessed One likes a low voice, and as he extols a low voice, his disciples speak softly. Have no suspicion, Great King. Be not afraid. Gently push your elephant on. The oil-lamps are burning in the younder resting shed". Going as far as the path permitted in the interior of the garden, the king dismounted from the elephant and walked on foot, and on reaching the doorway of the resting-shed, inquired: "Where is the Blessed One? What is his appearance? "Sire, the Blessed One is he who is seated in the midst of the congregation of the Bhikshus, near the middle pillar, facing east." He cast a glance at the Bhikshus who remained quiet and silent, the Master appearing as if it were that he was seated in the midst of a calm and placid lake." "Would it be," wished the king, "that my son Udayabhadra will have this calmness of spirit!" He went up to the Master, and putting his upper garment over one shoulder, touched the ground with his bended knee, and with clasped

hands discussed some points concerning the visible reward of religious life. "What think you, Great King, have I not shown that there is a visible reward for a life of virtue ?" "Of a truth, you have, my Lord", said the king, approving the words of the Great Teacher.

12. Pl. XIII. Railing-Pillar. S. Gate. Inner Face. [Scene 52] :—

Rājā Pasenaji Kosalo.[1]

"King Prasenajit of Kosala."

Bhagavato Dhamachakaṁ.[2]

"The Dharmachakra of the Divine Master."

This is a fine piece of sculpture representing a scene of the visit of King Prasenajit of Kosala to Buddha, the Enlightened Teacher. Here Cunningham notices a two-storeyed building enshrining the Dharmachakra or the Wheel of the Law as a symbol of the Buddha and occupying all the upper portion of the bas-relief save a narrow strip on each side. In these strips, as he observes, one can see the head and tail of the procession, the whole of the lower half being occupied with the main body and the gateway of the palace through which the king has just passed. He finds the leader of the procession to be a footman, closely followed by a horseman, whose back only is represented together with the hind part of his horse. Next comes, to continue his observations, another footman, all of them who have turned upwards to the left being closely followed by the king in a chariot drawn by four horses abreast. The horses are gaily caparisoned with lofty plumes and plaited manes. The king is attended by a man holding the chauri, and a second holds an umbrella over his head. The third is the charioteer behind the chariot is the palace gateway, through which three followers are passing. Their heads only now remain, as the whole of the lower right corner of the sculpture, including the horses' legs and the greater portion of the chariot wheels, has been broken off. Behind the gateway, and advancing towards it, are two other followers mounted on elephants who close the procession. The interest of this remarkable scene is naturally divided between the great King Prasenajit and the famous Buddhist symbol of the Dharmachakra which here takes the place of the Buddha himself. This symbol is probably intended as a type of the advancement of the Buddhist faith by preaching, and thus becomes an emblem of Buddha the Teacher, in the same way that the Bodhimaṇḍa is used as a symbol of Buddha the

Dhammachetiya-Sutta. King Prasenajit's last interview with the Buddha.

[1], [2], Barua Sinha, Nos. 168—169.

Ascetic. The Wheel, has a garland hanging from its axle, and is surmounted by an umbrella figured with garlands, having on each side a worshipper standing with joined hands upon his breast in an attitude of devotion. The lower storey of the Dharmachakra-shrine is an open-pillared hall standing on a plinth or basement ornamented with Buddhist railing. The upper storey has two projecting rooms pierced with arched windows covered with semi-circular hood-mouldings, while the wall in the centre and beyond the projecting rooms is ornamented with a line of Buddhist railing. Above it springs the barrel vault roof with two gable ends, and a line of eight small pinnacles on the ridge. This edifice is no other than the Puṇyaśālā erected by King Prasenajit in honour of the Buddha in the city of Śrāvastī, his royal capital. The large Wheel-symbol occupies the middle of the front part of this building.[1]

Such is the graphic description of the scene quoted above, almost verbatim, from Cunningham. Here we have nothing else to do than clear up certain points. Is the edifice with an open-pillared hall, containing the Dharmachakra-symbol, the Puṇyaśālā erected by King Prasenajit near Śrāvastī ? Who is the man standing within this hall in an attitude of devotion on two sides of the symbol ? Is the gateway noticed by Cunningham really the palace-gateway ? These questions cannot be answered until the subject of the sculpture is ascertained. But this is certain that the bas-relief represents a grand royal procession, as well as a solemn scene of King Prasenajit's interview with the Buddha. The personnel of the procession includes, besides the king, the four divisions of his army, classically known as the Elephant, the Horse, the Chariot and the Infantry. In this particular representation, the procession is headed by the Horse and closed by the Elephant, in between the two are placed the Infantary and the Chariot, the Infantry or Footmen coming next to the Horsemen. The progress of the procession is shown by a double representation of each unit, one behind the other. We wonder how Cunningham is led to think that the footmen closely followed by one horseman, is the leader of the procession. Apparently there are two horsemen closely followed by two footmen ; in reality one horseman and one footman are shown twice as an artistic device for representing their onward march. Similarly the chariot is represented twice, first under gateway just at a point where one could see the heads of the horses and the head probably of the king. The elephant, too, is shown twice moving on towards the gateway. There are really not two worshippers inside the Dharmachakra-hall but only one in two attitudes, and he is no other than the king himself. In the first

1. Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 90-91, 119.

attitude to the left he seems to wait upon the Master, and in the second attitude to the right, he is retiring, keeping the Master in his front as a mark of respect. Several visits of King Prasenajit are recorded in Buddhist literature. Here only his last visit seems to have been represented. Here is a scene not only of his last visit but that of the entire Dhammachetiya-Sutta which describes it. The Dharmachaitya or the eloquent edifice of tribute from the king, which was construed to be an imperishable memorial to the glory of the law. In this sculpture M. Foucher finds a scene of the great miracle performed by the Buddha at Śrāvastī. This is not at all convincing. We must select a story which can account for the royal procession as well as the Dharmachakra-hall and the king's presence within. The Dhammachetiya-Sutta alone can explain these details.[1] It tells us that at one time King Prasenajit came to inspect Naṅgaraka, which was a town bordering the Śākya-territory. One day, the king went out for a walk in the beautiful woodland in the suburb, with the magnificent pomp befitting his high position as the monarch of Kosala. A grand procession was organised with his army and all the best Vehicles and equipages. The Chauri, the Umbrella, and other royai insignia bore out his dignity. From this woodland he drove as far as Ulumpa or Medalumpa, which was the nearest Śākya town. He went to the ārāma where the Master was then sojourning. According to the Majjhima-Nikāya-Commentary, he ordered to keep the elephants waiting outside the town, that is, outside the city-gate. His chariots and other vehicles proceeded as far as the road permitted. On his arrival at the ārāma, he left his diadem, sword and shoes in the custody of his Commander-in-Chief, who accompanied him. He saw the Bhikshus walking and resting peacefully under an open sky round about the place. The Master was then in his private chamber—gandhakuṭi, the door of which was shut from within. He knocked at it from outside and it was opened from within, letting the king in. His heart was at the time very much troubled. He compared and contrasted his care-worn life as king with the peaceful life of the Master. He soon took leave, retired and came out only to find himself deposed, forlorn and overtaken by a tragic end.

13. Pl. XXXI. 2. [Scene 53] :—Atanā maramtā [pi],[1]

"Even if they be dying."

This is the second square panel which is largely occupied in the middle by a Dharmachakra-shirne. The shirne, as in the preceding scene, is a two-storeyed

1 Other Versions of the story in the Bhaddasāla-Jātaka (F. 4:5), Viḍūḍabha-Vatthu in the Dhammapada-Commentary, Hwen Thsang's Travels in Beal's Records.

building, of which we have jnst a front view. The upper storey is usually separated from the lower by a Buddhist railing and provided with two arched windows or doorways, each showing a hanging garland. Four small pillars of an octagonal form can be seen between these arched openings, and these support a solid roof with semi-circular ends and five small pinnacles. The lower storey is, to all appearance, a square open-pillared hall; two front pillars have each an octagonal shaft and a bell-capital, a lotus-shape for its pedestal, an ornamental bracket for its abacus, and a plinth of three square slabs of stone, maintaining symmetry with the shaft and other details. A highly ornamented wheel is set up inside the hall, with an ornamented square seat below, over which it can revolve. A large piece of flower-wreath is hanging from its navel, which, too, is beautifully ornamented. The wheel is canopied by a parasol, with two garlands hanging from its rim. On each side of the square seat a woman is bowing down in a kneeling posture, while a man with dignified appearance is standing with joined hands, in an attitude of reverent supplication. It is possible that just a couple of man and woman is doing the worship and perambulation. Under the tree on the right we see the front part of a chariot, drawn by two high-mattled horses, whose bodies are covered all over with nets. A king is majestically seated in the chariot, with a royal umbrella, held over his head from behind by a man, whose head remains concealed behind that of the charioteer, who is seated beside the king, holding the reins. The king with his right hand upraised in front seems to ask the charioteer to restrain the motion of the chariot. It is manifest from the attitude of the heads and forelegs of the horses that he has done what he was asked to do. In the left a richly caparisoned elephant is passing through the arched doorway of a gate-chamber. It is curious that the same elephant going as far as the tree in the upper corner, is unable to advance further. The mahut who sits down on the shoulder of the elephant is violently piercing the animal's head with a goad, causing an excruciating pain, which the elephant finds himself unable to bear. He grasps an outer branch of the tree with his trunk, while his body shrinks down and shrivels up. A comparison with the preceding scene will at once show that the present scene is nothing but a sequel thereof. The presence of the Dharmachakra-shrine, combined with the superior style of sculpture and other details, leaves no room for doubt that what we here have is only a sequel of the Pāli Dhammachetiya-story which, in its Majjhima-Nikāya version, ends with a reference to King Prasenajit's tragic fate after his last interview with the Buddha. His aide-de-camp Dīrghachārāyaṇa, who had grudge against him, helped Prince Viḍūḍabha or

Viḍūḍabha's march on Kapilavāstu. Non-violent attitude of the Śākyas. Buddha's intervention and its effect.

Virūḍhaka to usurp the throne of Kosala, taking advantage of his mental worries and absence from the capital. Prince Viḍūḍabha was a son of Prasenajit by a queen, who was the daughter of Mahānāma, the Śākya chief, and a slave-woman. He was treated with contempt by the Śākyas when he visited Kapilavāstu. He did not forget the disgrace to which he was put by a people whom he approached as his kinsmen. What he did to satisfy his grudge is not narrated in the Dhammachetiya-story of the Pāli Nikāya. There are these four main versions of the legend : (1) Pāli version in the present story of the Bhaddasāla-Jātaka (F. 465) and the Viḍūḍabha-vatthu of the Dhammapada-Commentary, (2) Sanskrit Buddhist version in the Virūḍhaka-story of the Avadānakalpalatā, (3) Tibetan version reproduced by Rockhill[1], and (4) Chinese version in Hwen Thsang's Travels.[2] The common point in all these versions is that in order to feed fat his ancient grudge, King Viḍūḍabha or Virūḍhaka advanced with a large army against the Śākyas, and as he reached the boundary of his kingdom, he found the Master seated beneath a tree that gave scanty shade and stood on the boundary of Kapilavāstu. Hard by that place, a shady tree stood on the boundary of Kosala. According to the Pāli verson, the latter tree was a banyan. Viḍūḍabha seeing the Master thus seated, alighted from his chariot, and said, respectfully approaching him, "Why, Sir, are you sitting there under so thin a tree in all this heat ? Why do you not sit here under this umbrageous tree, Sir ?" He replied, "Let it be, O King ! the shade of my kindred keeps me cool." The other thinking the all-powerful Master had come to protect his clansmen, returned to his capital, saluting him. In the Pāli story we read that three times he marched and returned on account of the Master's intervention. The fourth time he set out, but the Master did not go, seeing it was impossible to save the Śākyas who sinned against each other. The label refers to the non-violent attitude of the Śākyas, taking advantage of which Viḍūḍabha, according to the Viḍūḍabha-vatthu and Virūḍhakāvadāna, slew all the Śākyas except Mahānāma and his family, and those who fled away. There is no allusion to this in the Jātaka-story or in Hwen Thsang's account. The Viḍūḍabhavatthu and Virūḍhakāvadāna tell us that all the Śākyas took a strong vow to remain non-violent to the last, even if they died. The latter goes a step further and says that they expelled their clansman Sampāka who gave battle, not previously knowing their decision. The very wording of the Barhut label, atanā maraṁtā pi, occurs in the Viḍūḍabhavatthu. The Tibetan account agreeing in all points with the Avadāna story, adds that when Virūḍhaka marched with his troops to Kapilavāstu, those among the Śākyas who were not Buddhists brought

1 Rockhill's Life of the Buddha, pp. 77-78 ; 116-122.

2 Beal's Buddhist Recotds of the Western World, II. p. 11.

together their men to repulse him, and those who were Buddhists and averse to killing anything carried cudgels and goads to cut the bow-strings and strappings, though at last they with a united resolve issued a proclamation prohibiting all from attacking Virūḍhaka or his army.

The Barhut scene represents just the first episode where the Master's timely intervention compels Viḍūḍabha to go back to his capital. The tree on the Śākyan boundary is other than the banyan. The royal personage inside the Dharmachakra-hall may be King Viḍūḍabha himself, though the presence of the female worshipper remains unexplained. It is equally possible that the worshippers are Śākyas, men and women, who are taking a strong vow to remain non-violent to the last.

14. Pl. XIII. S. Gate. Prasenajit Pillar. Side. Upper Bas-Relief [Scene 54] :—In this bas-relief and the following one Cunningham finds two highly decorated representations of Buddhist stūpas. These stūpas are not mere mounds of earth or piles of stones, heaped up over dead bodies as memorial monuments, such as the great barrows at Lauriya to the north of Bettiah. These are structural monuments of stone or brick, raised to enshrine the bodily relics of a Buddha, or of some holy Arhat, or of a powerful king. These, as represented in the Barhut sculptures, are masonry structures of the same form, and are adorned with the same amount of umbrellas and garlands, as those in the bas-relief of the Sanchi Tope. The main feature in these structures is the dome which is hemispherical, standing on a cylindrical base, ornamented with small recesses for lights, arranged in patterns. On the top of the hemisphere there is a square platform, docorated with a Buddhist railing, supporting the crowning umbrella. Two streamers are shown hanging from the edge of the umbrella. Two large flowers spring from the top of the square pedestal on which the umbrella rests, and two other flowers from its base. The dome itself is ornamented with a long undulated garland suspended in loops from pegs. These garlands are still used in Burma, where they are made of coarse flowered or figured muslins, in the shape of long cylinders or pipes extended by rings of bamboo. The stūpas are here represented as objects of worship[1].

Mahāparinirvāṇa : Buddha's Great Decease. Cremation of his body. Building of the memorial mound. Erection of the stone-pillar.

The masonry structures in these two bas-reliefs are not to be treated as mere objects of worship. They have a distinct bearing on a scene from Buddha Śākyamuni's life. Although these two bas-reliefs deal with the same theme, namely, the legend of Buddha's Great Decease, and have many points in common, such as the Stūpa, two pairs of the twin Śāla-trees,

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 6, 110.

the groups of worshippers, and the pair of flying angels, each has a peculiar artistic distinction of its own. In the Bas-relief concerned, the stūpa stands prominently in front, with one worshipper on each side, a male worshipper on the right and a female worshipper on the left, both kneeling on the ground, sitting on the heels, and honouring the sacred memorial mound lovingly embracing it. The stūpa, as shown in the bas-relief and described by M. Foucher, is 'a chief Buddhist sanctuary which is the tumulus, its principal role being to cover up a deposit of relics. It is a stereotyped edifice of brick or stone, presupposing the art of the architect and utilizing that of the sculptor. Its chief feature is a full hemispherical dome, usually raised on a terrace. The dome (aṇḍa) supports a sort of kiosk (harmika), itself surmounted by one or several parasols, and emblem of honorific signification in the east.'[1] The terrace or cylindrical base is composed of a high Buddhist railing with four cross-bars and a garland between three circular bands, and shows a remarkable masonry work of two ornamented flags, each of which is a long strip, attached to a pliant flagstaff, borne upon it, and bent in the middle so as to form a flat curve on the top. The harmika or crowning construction, supporting two parasols, one above the other, is a shrine in the shape of a broad-headed pillar. Behind the stūpa there are two pairs of the twin Śāla-trees in flower, each pair of trees standing in a line, at some distance from each other, and all forming a court. Two flying angels, coming from two sides, remain poised in the air, one of them letting a flower-wreath fall from the two hands, and the other scattering flowers with the right hand out of a vase carried by the left, The lower Śāla-tree on the left is hidden from view behind a group of three high personages, standing together with joined hands. In front of these worshippers there stands an isolated pillar which is set up aside, behind the stūpa, and has, like the Asokan monoliths, a bell-capital, below a bracket ornamented with a lotus-shrub, while four lions manfully stand on the ornamented abacus, facing the four cardinal points. Here the high bracket and the octagonal shaft are the points of distinction from the Aśokan monoliths. We see a second group of worshidpers on the right in front of the lower Śāla-tree, standing, one behind the other, with joined hands. The underlying legend, as narrated in different Buddhist works, is in the main as follows :—

During his last tour in Northern India, which had commenced from Rājagṛiha, the Buddha reached at last the Śāla-grove of the Mallas, within the outer extension of Kuśinagara, on the further side of the river Hiraṇyavatī. He was weary, and

1 The Beginnings of Buddhist Art, p. 13.

liked to lie down. Ānanda spread a covering over the couch with its head to the north, between the twin Śāla-trees. He laid himself down on his right side resting one leg on the other, and remaining mindful and self-possessed. The twin Śāla-trees were all one mass of bloom with flowers out of season, these dropping, sprinkling and scattering all over his body. The heavenly Mandāraka flowers and sandal-wood powder were showered down from the sky. The heavenly music was sounded in the sky, and the heavenly songs came wafted from the skies. Buddhaghosa records an old tradition which says that there was a row of sāla-trees at the head of the couch, and another at its foot, one young sāla-tree being close to its head, and another close to its foot. The twin Śāla-trees were so called because the two trees were equally grown in respect of the roots, trunks, branches and leaves.[2] The gods of the ten thousand world-systems gathered together to behold him. For twelve leagues around the Śāla-grove there was no spot which was not pervaded by the powerful spirits. The Mallas, with their young men, maidens and wives, came grieved, sad and afflicted at heart, came to the Śāla-grove, to see him for the last time. They stood in groups, each family in a group, and each group was presented to him. They humbly bowed down at his feet. He gave instructions to Ānanda as to the true mode of worship, as to the persons worthy of a memorial mound, as to the manner of dealing with women and as to the method of disposal of his body. The Wanderer Subhadda was converted to his faith. He recounted the former glory of the present town of Kusinārā. He urged his disciples to be earnest, zealous and intent on their own good. In the third watch of the night he passed away, extinguishing the light of the world. The Mallas spent seven days in making preparations for the funeral. On the seventh day his body was carried across the Hiraṇyavatī, in a golden coffin-box to the site of the Mukuṭabandhana shrine of the Mallas, where it was cremated with all the pomp, grandeur and demonstration that a man can conceive of. The bones collected from the funeral pyre were kept in the Mallas' Council-hall with a lattice work of spears and a rampart of bows, where these were worshipped for seven days. Droṇa, the wise Brahmin, divided the relics into seven equal portions, distributing them among seven royal claimants, the ashes forming an extra portion which he took for himself. The Mallas put up a sacred cairn over their share of the bodily remains, celebrating a feast in their honour.

1 Cf. Rochhill's Life of the Buddha, P. 135.

2 Rhys Davids' translation of the Buddhist Suttas, S. B. E. Vol. XI, p. 85, f,n. 1. Fa Hian says, "The Buddha lay with his head to the north and a Śāla-tree on either side of him." Hwen Thsang refers to four Śāla-trees of an unusual height, indicating the place where the Buddha passed away.

Fa Hian says that the Lichchhavis, who had not obtained a share, erected a stone-pillar twelve leagues to the south-east of Kusīnārā. In the Divyāvadāna (p. 394) we read that when King Aśoka came to Kuśīnagara on pilgrimage, he spent a hundred thousand pieces in erecting a shrine. Hwen Thsang says that on the spot, where the Buddha lay between the twin Śāla-trees, King Aśoka built a stūpa, erected a stone-pillar before it, with an inscription recording the fact of the Great Decease, without mentioning the date of the event. Buddhaghosa, at the end of his commentary on the Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta, records an apostolic tradition, according to which King Aśoka built here a great stūpa to enshrine a portion of the relics in exact imitation of the mound, formerly built by King Ajātaśatru and the heavenly architect Viśvakarmā.

The Barhut scene depicts a bare symbolical outline of the Buddhist legend, referring to such facts as the Buddha's passing away between the twin Śāla-trees, the building of the memorial mound, the erection of the stone-pillar by Aśoka, and the worship by the gods and men. Here the stūpa indicates the invisible presence of the Buddha.

Mahāparinirvāṇa : Buddha's Great Decease at Kuśīnagara. Building of the Stūpa. Worship by gods and men.

14 (a). Pl. XXXI. I. Long Rail. [Scene 55] :—This is the second bas-relief which represents a scene of the Buddha's Great Decease at Kuśīnagara, followed by the erection of the memorial mound. This sets forth all the details noticed in the preceding bas-relief, omitting the fact of erection of the stone-pillar by King Aśoka. Here the base of the stūpa is ornamented with a railing with three cross-bars and human hands, and not with a railing with four cross-bars and a garland. In the place of two flags we have here two lotus-like wheels, the Dharma-chakra-symbols, with hanging garlands, attached to two sides of the shrine in the crowning construction. Instead of a male or a female worshipper bowing down on each side, here we see one pair bowing down by turns, and perambulating the stūpa, the male figure standing up with joined hands and the female worshipper bowing down on the right, the female figure standing up in a similar attitude and the male bowing down on the left. In the right, behind the stūpa, a high personage is seen standing up with joined hands, and in the act of circumambulation. In this scene the stūpa is placed between a pair of twin Śāla-trees in flower, and these between another pair of much taller twin Śāla-trees. If the stūpa be taken as a mere symbol of the Buddha's presence, the scene is neither more nor less than that of the Buddha's final passing away on a couch laid between the twin Śāla-trees, in the Śāla-grove of the Mallas.

ii (a) SOME INTERMEDIATE SCENES
FROM SANTIKE-NIDĀNA

I. Pl. XXVIII. 4 [Scene 56] :—Iṁdasāla-guhā[1].
"The Indraśāla-cave".

This base-relief has been injured by the cutting away of both sides of the circular medallion to fit the pillar as an architrave in one of the cenotaphs at Batanmara. In the middle part which now remains with the inscribed label above it, Cunningham notices Indra's harper, the god Pañcaśikha, represented on the left side with a large harp in his hands. The seated figures in the middle are Indra and his companions. The Buddha's invisible presence is indicated by the throne canopied by an umbrella. The rocky nature of the mountain is shown by piles of rock above the cave.[2]

At the Indraśāla-cave the Buddha offers replies to the questions of Śakra.

Among other details, the cubical seat of Buddha bears some flower and garland marks, and two garlands are hanging from the rim of the umbrella. Śakra and other gods are seated cross-legged, with joined hands, in an attitude of reverent supplication, Pañcaśikha grasping the narrow upper part of the harp within the fold of his joined hands. The cave shows a rocky floor and a polished inside. A small Indraśāla-tree is shown on the upper ridge of a cave, growing among the piles of rock. Two monkeys are seen sitting on cubical rocks, facing each other, while two bears peep out through the holes beneath the piled up rocks. The artistic purpose is simply to represent the climbing up and down of the monkeys and the going in and coming out of the bears. According to Cunningham's interpretation of the incised label, the bas-relief contains a scene of "Indra's Hall Cave". Fa Hian and Hwen Thsang name the cave Indraśaila-guhā (In-to-lo-shi-lo-kia-ho), "The cavern of Indra", or, as Beal would take it to mean, "The mountain cave sacred to Indra." The name Indrasila-guhā occurs in an Indian Buddhist inscription found in Ghosrawa in Behar. The Pāli Indasāla-guhā which exactly corresponds to the Barhut form is interpreted by Buddhaghosa as a upanidhāpaññatti, i.e., a name derived from an object standing near at hand, say, as here, an Indraśāla-tree marking the entrance of the cave. We read in the Sakkapañhasuttanta of the Dīgha-Nikāya that the cave belonged to Mt. Vediyaka, the Altar-hill, lying to the north of a Brahmin-village called Āmrashaṇḍa, the Mango tract, and to the west of Rājagṛiha. Buddhaghosa says that the cave was situated between two hills, and that the range was called Vediyaka because it was surrounded on all

1 Barua Sinha, No. 164. 2 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 88,89.

sides by grassy and flowery woodlands, looking like so many maiṇvedikās, grown at its foot. Fa Hian locates it nine leagues to the south-east of Pāṭaliputra, and Hwen Thsang locates it about 30 li to the east of the town Kālapiṇāka. The latter gives the following description of the mountain and the cave : "The precipices and valleys of this mountain are dark and gloomy. Flowering trees grow thickly together like forests. The summit has two peaks, which rise up sharply and by themselves. On the south side of the western peak between the crags is a great stone house, wide but not high. Here Tathāgata in old time was stopping when Śakra, king of devas, wrote on the stone matters relating to forty-two doubts which he had, and asked Buddha respecting them. Then Buddha explained the matters. Persons now try to imitate by comparison these ancient holy figures. Those who enter the cave to worship are seized with a sort of religious trepidation."[1] According to description in the Pāli Suttanta, "At the time when the Blessed One entered it, the Indraśāla-cave which was uneven became even, which was narrow became wide, which was dark became lighted, as if by the superhuman powers of the gods.[2]" Buddhaghosa says that after having been surrounded with kuṇḍas, fitted with doors and windows, done up into a cave-dwelling with the finest chunam plaster, and adorned with the garland and creeper designs, the cave was given to the Blessed One."[3] The Buddhist legend underlying the scene is as follows :—

The Blessed One was then residing in the Indraśāla-cave when Śakra, long desirous of paying him a visit, sent his harper, the god Pañcaśikha, to arrange for an interview. Pañcaśikha, on entering the cave, began to sing certain stanzas, admitting of a twofold interpretation, setting forth the glory of the Buddha and speaking in praise of the heavenly maiden, Sūryavarchasā, with whom he fell in love. The praises of the pure being and the praises of evil were thus mingled together in the same strain. His voice was accompanied by the tune of his harp, twelve leagues in length. Śakra and his companions, as they entered the cave, made due obeisance to the Master, and respectfully sat on one side. By the merit of this salutation the term of his life, which had nearly ended, was considerably extended. With the Teacher's permission he stated his doubts which he wished to have solved. He asked some thirteen questions (forty-two, according to Hwen Thsang), which were answered by the Master. He and his companions listened to the answers, and obtained light. As a reward for Pañcaśikha's service, he gave him Sūryavarchasā.[4]

1 Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, II. pp, 180-1 : Introd. p. lviii. 2 Digha, II : pp. 269-270.
3 Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, Siamese Ed. II, p. 392. 4 Spence Hardy's Manual of Buddhism. pp. 298-300.

2. [Missing] :—Dhataratho Yakho.[1]
"Dhritarashtra, Yaksha."

Dhritarāshtra, the guardian of the eastern quarter, finds mention along with his three compeers in several Buddhist legends as a benefactor of the divine dispensation of the Buddha. At all important junctures of the life of Buddha Śākyamuni, he is said to have come with his retinue to ward off the dangers and pay homage to the Bodhisattva and Buddha now and again. He by his epithet is a holder of the royal sceptre, a mahārāja who is the supreme lord of the Gandharvas. He rules the eastern quarter of the lowest Kāmāvachara heaven. His queen is said to have attended Queen Mahāmāyā during the whole period of her maternity, from conception to delivery. In the Mahāsamaya and Āṭānāṭiya Suttas he is represented as having many powerful sons bearing the same name Indra. According to the Āṭānāṭiya Discourse, he guards the eastern quarter with the help of Sūryya, seven constellations, eight heavenly maidens and the Chāpāla (Pāvāla, Pravāla, Coral) shrine. He figures on the Barhut Railing-pillar as the Warden of the Eastern Entrance. This representation accords most with the description in the Āṭānāṭiya Discourse.[2]

Dhritarāshtra Yaksha guards the eastern quarter paying homage to the Buddha.

3. Pl. XXI. 1, 3 [Scene 58] :—Virudako Yakho.[3]
"Virūdhaka Yaksha."

The under life-size figure of Virūdhaka Yaksha is sculptured on the outer side of the southern terminus pillar of the S. E. Quadrant. The upper part of this side, above the head of the Yaksha, is ornamented with a Buddhist stūpa. The figure is standing on a high rocky ground where some brooks and a sandal-wood tree can be seen. Like other Yakshas, Virūdhaka wears various ornaments and stands with joined hands directed towards the invisible presence of the Buddha. In the Buddhist legends he figures as a terrible warrior god who is the supreme lord and leader of the Kumbhāṇdas or Dānava-rākshasas, that is, of the demons and goblins inhabiting the southern region. He rules the southern quarter of the lowest Kāmāvachara heaven. According to the Āṭānāṭiya legend, he guards the southern quarter with the help of Yama, his general, seven constellations and eight heavenly maidens. The part played by him, his queen, many powerful sons and large retinue is similar to that of Dhritarāshtra and his men. Though the picture is based upon the Āiānāṭiya

Virūdhaka Yaksha guards the southern quarter, paying homage to the Buddha.

1 Barua Sinha, No. 171.

2 Mahā-āṭānāṭiya-suttanta in the Dīgha III, Āṭānāṭiya-Sutta ia the Suttasaṅgaha, Lalita-Vistara, Ch. XXIV ; Mahāvastu, III. pp. 306-309.

3 Barua Sinha, No. 172.

legend, he really appears at Barhut as a Warden of the south entrance of the Buddhist Stūpa and Railing. The notable feature of his figure is a five-fold scarf passing over his arms and round his back through his arm-pits.

4. [Missing] :—Virupakho Yakho.[1]
"Virūpāksha Yaksha."

Virūpāksha Yaksha guards the western quarter, paying homage to the Buddha.

Virūpāksha is the evil-eyed warrior-god who is honoured throughout Buddhist literature as the supreme lord and leader of the Nāgas or dragons. He rules the western quarter of the lowest Kāmāvachara heaven. He guards the western region with the help of Varuṇa, his general, seven constellations and eight heavenly maidens. He with his queen, many powerful sons and large retinue played the same part in the life of the Buddha as Dhṛitarāshṭra and Virūḍhaka. He must have figured at Barhut as a Warden of the west entrance of the Buddhist Stūpa and Railing.

5. Pl. XXII. 1 [Scene 50] :—**Kupiro Yakho.**[2]
"Kuvera Yaksha."

Kuvera Yaksha guards the northern quarter, paying homage to the Buddha.

The figure of Kuvera Yaksha is sculptured on the inner face of one of the pillars with the above inscription recording his name. He remains standing with joined hands held on his breast and directed to the invisible presence of the Buddha. His apparel and ornaments are similar to those of other Yakshas. His feet rest on the shoulder of a fat-bodied and big-bellied man who sits on all fours, in a crawling attitude. This representation of him answers to his description in the Lalita-Vistara,[3] the Bṛihatsaṁhitā[4] and the Khila-Harivaṁśa[5] as a Naravāhana, 'One with a man for one's vehicle', and not to his description in the Suttanipāta-Commentary[6] as a Nārivāhana, 'One with a woman for one's vehicle'. His weapon of war which is a club (gadā) is not here represented. In the Buddhist and Indian works, he is well-known as Vaiśravaṇa Kuvera, the god of riches, the giver of wealth (Dhanakuvera, Dhanada). In the Pāli Āṭānāṭiya-Suttanta, he is described as the sole monarch of Uttarakuru, with Vishāṇā, Alakamandā or Alakā as its capital. Āṭānāṭā, Kusināṭā, Parakusināṭā, Naṭapuriyā and Parakusitanāṭā are the various cities, built in the firmament. The land of Uttarakuru is situated about the Mahāmeru of glorious sight. Here men are

1 Supplied. Barua Sinha, No. 173.
2 Barua Sinha, No. 174.
3 Lalita-Vistara, C8. XXIV.
4 Bṛihatsaṃhitā, X. 57 : Naravāhanaḥ Kubero vāmākiriṭī bṛihatkukshi.
5 Khila-Harivaṃśa, Harivaṃśaparva, XLIV. 16-19.
6 Paramatthajotikā, II. p. 370. Also Mahāvaṃsa.

free from the idea of private ownership, the crops grow of themselves and rice grows without husk, the birds sing with a sweet voice, and the people go hither and thither using men, women, boys, girls, elephants, horses, chariots and palanquins as conveyances. There is, in the capital city of unsurpassed glory, a lake, called Dharaṇī. from which the clouds pour down rain. Bhāgalavatī is the Council-hall where the Yakshas meet for deliberations. Kuvera is said to have many powerful sons, bearing the same name. Indra, Soma, Varuṇa, Bharadvāja, Prajāpati, Maṇibhadra, and the like are mentioned as the great Yaksha-generals. In the Lalita-Vistara version of the Āṭānāṭiya-Suttanta we read that Kuvera, the suprme lord of the Yakshas, guards the northern region with the help of Maṇibhadra, his general, eight constellations of stars, and eight heavenly maidens. A similar account is also met with in the Mahāvastu. His queen was one of the atrending maids of Queen Mahāmāyā during her dream. Pūrṇaka is mentioned in the Vidhūrapaṇḍita-Jātaka as the nephew of Kuvera. In the Buddhist cosmography, Kuvera appears to be one of the four guardian gods who ruled the northern quarter of the lowest Kāmāvachara heaven. At Barhut he is represented as the Warden of the northern entrance of the Buddhist Stūpa and Railing, According to Pauranic etymology, Kuvera means Kutsita or 'deformed' and this meaning refers to the malformation of his three legs. In modern representations he appears as three-legged. But, as Cunningham points out, there is no allusion to any deformity in the Buddhist books, while there is a distinct testimony to the contrary. From the Pauranic description of Vaiśravaṇa Kuvera as the son of Viśravas and Irāvira, and the grandson of Pulastya, he is led to think that Kuvera corresponds with the Greek Ploutos, the god of wealth, who, according to Hesiod, is the son of Iasion by Demeter.[1]

6. Pl. Indian Museum. Corner-Pillar Statue. No. 38 (5) a[Scene 61] :—

Ajakālako Yakho.[2]
"Ajakālaka Yaksha."

This is the label inscribed above the figure of the Yaksha, named Ajakālaka, clearly distinguished from ordinary human figures. His dress, drapery and ornaments are similar to those of Sūchiloma. He stands holding a blossoming lotus-bud between the first two fingers of his right hand placed across the right side of his breast. The peculiar mudrā of these two fingers are also shown on his left hand suspended lengthwise touching his left thigh. He stands keeping his right leg erect and so bending his left leg that its heel rests across his right leg and toes touch the vehicle beneath his feet. The upper part of

Taming of Ajakālaka or Ajakalāpaka Yaksha.

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 21. 2 Barua Sinha, No. 175.

the vehicle is broken off. The portion that remains shows that it has the tail of a makara and the forelegs of a lion or tiger. A Yaksha by the name of Ajakalāpaka appears as interlocutor of a Buddhist Dialogue in the Udāna, which briefly states the result of his unexpected and undesired interview with the Buddha, the teacher of gods and men. This Dialogue lays its scene in Pāṭali, on a spot where the Yaksha's temple and palace stood. According to the Udāna-Commentary, his temple and mansion were situated in Pāvā. The Dialogue says that the Yaksha grew furious to see the Master seated in his throne inside his guarded mansion. "Akkula-Bakkula" he cried, and produced various terrific sights to frighten the fearless and strange trespasser who ventured to enter his sanctuary. But the Master remained firm in his seat and invincible. The purity of his heart overcame the fury of the Yaksha. Overpowered by his bold calmness, the frightful demoniac deity gently stood, in all humility, before him, confessing his faith, with his joined hands, as a lay believer. What did he mean by his strange cry 'Akkula-Bakkula.' and what are the terrific sights caused to be produced by him ? The Udāna-Commentary answers these questions. He shook the mighty earth, covered it with impenetrable darkness, raised violent storms, accompanied by heavy pourings of rain, thunder-claps, lightning-flashes, breaking of mountain-peaks, uprooting of trees, and roarings of the ocean-waves, as if the final dissolution overtook the world-system, producing a great commotion (kolāhala) in the whole of the Jambudvīpa. The noise of this commotion reached the ears of men in the onomatopoetic sound 'Akkula-Bakkula'. According to some, this jargon was but a Prakrit form of 'ākula-vyākula,' expressive of a fearful restlessness. Some suggest that by 'akkula' or 'ākula' the Yaksha meant he was a ferocious destroyer like a lion, a tiger or such other womb-born wild beast, and by 'bakkula' he compared himself with a venomous snake or reptile. Others suggest, on the contrary, that the correct form of the threat was 'akkhula-bhakkhula', by the first of which he signified his desire to kill and by the second, to devour in the manner of a demon, a goblin, a blood-sucker, a lion or a tiger.

This description is interesting as being suggestive of the frightful nature of the demi-god. There is no doubt that the Pāli Ajakalāpaka is the Ajakālaka of the inscription. Dr. Hultzsch rightly suggests that Ajakālaka is but the Sanskrit Ādyakāla, whom we might take to be a terrible embodiment of the ruthless unborn Time, destroying living beings whose essence is immortality. The Barhut sculpture, coupled with the evidence of the Udāna-Dialogue and its commentary, goes to show that in both the mythic cult and popular art, the all-devouring figure of Time or Death came to assume a stereotyped human form. In connection with the origin and significance of the name Ajakalāpaka, the Udāna-Commentary records that the

Yaksha loved to receive offerings along with the group of goats brought to him for sacrifice, that he caused living beings to be killed like goats, as well as that he felt appeased when men brought him offerings with the cry of the goat, the symbol of of the unborn (aja). The Yakshas was a hard-hearted and cruel personality, capable of supernatural powers. But so potent was the miracle of the Buddha's presence and instruction that it soon subdued the Yaksha into a gentle listener to the noblest message of the man.

7. **Pl. XXI. 1.** [Scene 62] :—"Gāṅgeya Yaksha
Gaṁgito Yakho.[1]

Taming of Gāṅgeya Yaksha.

This scene presents the figure of a demigod who stands with joined hands held on his breast and directed presumably towards the invisible presence of the Buddha. He wears six pieces of bracelets instead of four. His feet rest on the head of an elephant and on the top of a tree, the elephant and the tree standing side by side. His drapery, the rest of his ornaments and other details are similar to those of Sūchiloma, described in the following scene, No description of Gāṅgeya can be traced in Buddhist or Indian literature. His name shows that his abode and the temple dedicated to him were somewhere on the bank of the Ganges, that he was a dweller of the Gangetic region. There must have been a distinct Buddhist Discourse, the Gaṅgeya-Sutta, giving an account of the demi-god, as well as of the circumstances that led to his conversion to Buddhism, This Sutta must have contained a description of the terrors caused by him before he was tamed by the Buddha.

8. Pl. XXII. 2. [Scene 63] :—Suchilomo Yakho.[2]
"Sūchiloma Yaksha—the needle-haired demi-god."

Taming of the needle-haired Yaksha.

The Barhut sculpture represents this demigod in the shape of a man standing on a straight roof, consisting of a massive stone-slab. This roof covers a railing-like wall in which a set of pillars are joined by three rail-bars. A neatly bound turban with a ball-shaped crown is worn on his head. He stands with his bare feet, decently clad in a garment covering up to his knees, with beautifully done up foldings in the front, reaching down to his feet. His waist-band is a fashionable girdle with the finest embroidery. The bangles adorn his wrists. His arms are decked with armlets. He also wears splendid necklaces over his neck and breast. A fine drapery hangs down over his back at full length. His skin is glossy rather than needle-haired. He appears indeed as a prince of India in the grandeur of his joined hands placed slantingly across the

1 Barua Sinha, No. 176. 2 Barua Sinha, No. 177.

left side of his breast. He is doing an act of salutation to some body, left to be imagined. To whom are his joined hands directed? This question cannot be answered unless we presume that here is not only a representation of the Yaksha but that of a Buddhist Dialogue where he is an interlocutor. We come across two versions of a discourse of the Buddha answering questions put to him by the Yaksha, one in the Saṁyutta-Nikāya and the other in the Sutta-Nipāta.[2] These supply the context and go to show that here the Yaksha is earnestly listening to an edifying discourse from the Buddha, the tamer of a person amenable to discipline (purisa-damma-sārathi). The texts describe him as a powerful and ferocious dweller of Ṭamkitamañcha, a Ṭaṁ-house-platform near a village of Gayā, and an associate of another Yaksha, named Khara. The commentaries supply some additional information about the Yaksha, his dwelling house and associate. The information is as follows :—

"The Ṭamkitamañcha was a Ṭaṁ-shaped elongated platform. It was really a cell looking from a distance like a mound constructed of four stone slabs supporting a larger piece covering them like a roof, These were similarly covered by another slab below. These covering slabs were so strongly rivetted to the four supporters, forced into the tenons, that when turned upside down, the house remained the same. Adjoining it was a famous bathing tank where many pilgrims came to bathe. But the place was dirty on account of spitting, nose-secretion and throwing of filthy matters by the persons coming from various directions. The body of the Yaksha was covered with prickle-like hair, which served as a means of offence and defence. Whenever he wanted to frighten other beings he did so by raising his hair erect. This description reduces him to the position of a porcupine. He was associated with another Yaksha, Khara, the roughskinned, of the Kumbhīra or crocodile species, covered with rugged skin, marked by bony plates or bricks, set side by side. He, too, victimised other beings by frightening them with his scales suddenly raised erect. In the Ramayanic association Khara and Sūchiloma appear as two hideous looking human-shaped goblins Khara and Dūshaṇa, the two brothers and generals of Rāvaṇa or Airāvaṇa, guarding the Godāvarī forest region. Sūchiloma is represented in the Barhut bas-relief in the shape of a man, distinguished from ordinary human figures by the pendent earrings and conspicuous ear-holes. The Yaksha stands in a subdued manner, gentle and affable. Thus the Barhut sculpture illustrates the marvellous miraculous effect of the Buddha's presence and instruction. Sūchiloma, the needle-haired porcupine, is now a sūchiloma, the handsome human being.

1 Saṃyutta, I. P. 20†. 2 Sutta-Nipāta, II. Sutta No. 5.

9. Pl. Indian Museum. 43 (10) b [Scene 64] :—
Supāvaso Yakho.[1]
"Supravāsa, the dreadful demigod."

Here we see the representation of a figure of the demigod Supravāsa, standing with joined hands, directed towards some invisible presence, no doubt of the Buddha. His vehicle is represented as a caparisoned elephant with the trunk turned upwards, its back side touching the crown, and kept erect in a reverential attitude. He wears in each hand six bracelets, instead of four. In other respects his figure is exactly similar to that of Sūchiloma. The incised label records his name as Supāvasa or Supāvāsa Yakha. If Supāvāsa can be equated with Supravāsa or Suprāvṛiṭ, as has been done by Dr. Hultzsch, we may expect to see in the Barhut figure a later stereotyped human form of the Vedic rain-god Parjanya. But the name of the demigod may be supposed to have been derived from a locality called Supravāsa. A Dragon-chief by the name of Suvarṇaprabhāsa is mentioned, along with Elāpatra, in a Buddhist legend.[2] There is a Sanskrit Buddhist work bearing the title Suvarṇaprabhāsa-Sūtra. There must have been an earlier Suppavāsa-Sutta containing a story of the taming of the dreadful demigod by the Buddha. He must have been very much annoyed when he saw the powerful Master in his abode as a fearless trespasser who ultimately subdued him transforming a dreadful demigod into a gentle human listener.

Taming of the Yaksha Supravāsa.

10. Pl. Cunningham's Original Photograph. [Scene 7] :—The inner face of a right terminus pillar, recently brought into the Indian Museum, Calcutta, presents a broken figure of a demigod who, in the absence of a cobra-hood characterising the figure of a Dragon-chief, must be taken to be a Yaksha. In this instance the demigod stands manfully on the ground, keeping together his two feet. The attitude of the remnant of his right hand indicates that he was intended to stand with joined hands, in an attitude of respect. The high-bound turban is a notable point in his livery.

Some unknown Yaksha

11. Pl. Indian Museum. Right Terminus Pillar. Inner Face. [Scene 64a]. :—The inner face of this pillar, recently brought into the Indian Museum, bears the figure of a demigod who stands with joined hands and without any canopy of cobra-hood, resting his feet on a bearded and human-faced quadruped. The fragment of the inscription incised on this pillar retains the word Yasika which is either the name of the donor or that

Some unknown Yaksha.

1 Barua Sinha No. 178.

2 Rockhill's Life of the Buddha

of the demigod. Like other Yakshas and Nāgarājas, this demigod is represented as a Warden of the Buddhist shrine.

12. Pl. Indian Museum. [Scene 64b] :—The lower half of the figure of a demigod still lingers on the outer side of one of the right terminus pillars. The upper half has completely disappeared. The lower half which remains shows that the figure was standing on a rocky ground. In the absence of the head-dress it is impossible to say whether this figure represented the statue of a Yaksha or that of a Dragon chief. But when the figure was complete, it must have stood with joined hands, in an attitude of respect, and the part assigned to the demigod must have been that of a custodian of the Buddhist shrine.

Some unknown Yaksha or Nāga.

13. Pl. Indian Museum. 26 (21). [Scene 64c] :—The small fragment of a Railing-pillar bears yet the middle portion of a statue that was figured on a face or side. The statue, as it originally stood, was evidently a standing male figure. The right hand has disappeared without leaving any trace. The palm of the left hand is broken off. The attitude of the remaining part of the left hand shows that the figure stood with joined hands. The head and the upper part of the neck are cut away. The lower extremities below the thighs are lost for ever. The position of the pillar is unknown. There is no inscription recording the name of the demigod.

Broken statue of a Yaksha or Nāga.

14. Pl. Indian Museum. Intermediate Pillar. Side. [Scene 64d] :—Only the pedestal of this pillar survives presenting two even feet resting on the back of three lions standing side by side. In the absence of anklets characterising the figures of female deities we cannot identify the figure with a Yakshiṇī or Devatā, and in the absence of the cobra-hood we cannot say whether the figure represented a Yaksha or a Dragon-chief. If the feet represent the lower extremities of a female figure of which the bust without the right hand survives, the whole figure can be treated as a statue of some demigoddess.

Some unknown Yaksha, Yakshiṇī, Nāga or Devatā.

15. Pl. XIV. S. Gate. Prasenajit Pillar. Inner Face. Middle Bas-Relief [Scene 67]. :—

Erapato Nāgarājā.[1]
Erāpato Nāgarājā Bhagavato vaṁdate.[2]

1, 2 Barua Sinha, Nos. 179-180.

"Erāpata (Erāpatha, Erakapatta, Elāpatra or Ailapatra)—the Dragon-chief."

"The Dragon-king Erāpata bows down to the Divine Master."

This bas-relief, as Cunningham observes, is a square panel, on the left of which is kneeling a Dragon-chief in complete human form, with a five-hooded snake canopy over his head. Behind him to the right are the half figures of a male dragon and two female dragons, also in human form, and with snake-hoods over their heads, but with their lower extremities concealed. In the midst of the piece is a five-hooded snake rising apparently from the ground, who can be taken to be the Dragon-king in his first appearance from below in his true snake-form amongst the trees and rocks. Above, there are two small trees, and two half Nāginis. One of the short labels refers to the scene as one of worship of the Blessed Saviour by the Dragon-king Erāpata[1].

The Dragon-king Erāpata pays reverence to the Buddha as a means of escape from his snaky existence.

This description is defective in spite of its suggestiveness. The square panel obviously presents a romantic scene on land and in water. In the left we see a flat strip of land, and in the right an expanse of water, divided as though into two lakes or pools by a narrow strip, proceeding from the main land and looking like an island, washed by the overflowing currents of water. On the outer end of the narrow strip one can see a water-plant growing up and two crane-like birds flying over or hopping about, as is natural when they catch fishes or eat sea-weeds. It may be that one bird is shown twice to indicate its movement. This plainly shows that this portion of the strip is muddy, and overflooded when it is high tide, or there is a heavy gale or some such cause. The pools or streams of water are thickly covered all over with lotus-shrubs, with leaves, shoots and flowers in different stages of growth. To all appearance, these represent a large river flowing between two banks, visible on the upper and lower sides of the panel. The currents are well represented by the curled and wavy lines of water. On the lower corner of the main strip in the left, the Dragon-king Erāpata kneels on the ground and bows down, touching with his forehead the left hand side of a cubical jewel-seat of Buddha Śākyamuni from a corner, grasping the upper edge with his left hand and placing his right palm against the side itself. He appears indeed in the form of a royal personage, with a five-hooded crest over his turban. The square altar is covered over with lotus leaves and flowers, while the frieze on its front side shows a continuous leaf-design. This is erected at the foot of a delightfully tall and well-grown Śirīsha tree, two pieces of

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 26-27.

garland hanging from its lower branches. Its foliage is adorned throughout with flowers. A lower portion of its trunk, just above the square seat, is encircled by a belt with flower-designs. It is possible that this portion is thus fashioned with chisel.

The tree reigns indeed on the spot as the lord of its kind, the biggest of the six Śirīsha-trees, two growing on the outer end of the middle strip and three on the middle of the lower bank. The longer label is incised just behind the Dragon-chief, describing his action and attitude. Just above it, in the midst of the upper pool, we notice a beautifully adorned maiden in human form, standing characteristically as though turning round and round, while she is dancing and singing, upon the five-headed hood of the Dragon-king, raised aloft from water. She holds a lotus-bud in her upraised left hand, while her right hand is pointed towards a man before her with whom she is conversing with her charming face. The man stands, his body above water and wrapped by an upper garment, donned on his left shoulder, holding a lotus-bud in his right hand stretched towards her, evidently making advances of love. His face is broken off. But it is certain that he has no head-dress, nay, his head is shaven. In the midst of the lower pool we see the same Dragon-king, now in a royal human form, walking on towards the jewel-seat, carrying a lotus in his folded hands, and followed by two female dragons, also in human form, with single serpent-crests over their heads, one behind him appearing to be his wife, and one behind her his daughter. The two females are distinguished by the different head-dresses, here the head-dress of the daughter behind the queen being the same as that of the maiden on the hood of the Dragon-king. The shorter label giving the Dragon-king's name is incised just below his figure lest the observer may mistake his identity, now that he has assumed the human form. The labels give his name as Erapata or Erāpata, while in literature it is found to be Erakapatta, Erāpatha, Elāpatra and Ailapatra. These suggest different etymological explanations. See how Erakapatta, equating well with all the forms but Erāpatha, is explained in the Dhammapada-Commantary : He came to be known as Erakapatta because he felt as though an Eraka-leaf had seized him by the neck. Erāpatha, corresponding to Meṇḍapatha in the Mahāniddesa, signifies a country abounding in eḷakas or rams, through which the north-western branches of the Indian caravan route (uttarāpatha) passed. This must have been situated within Takshaśilā, since it is expressly stated in the Mahāvastu that his abode was a tank or lake in Takshaśilā. None need be surprised if this place was Ilāprasta or Ailaprastha, an ancient Iranian settlement. The Mahāvastu mentions Elāpatra as one of the four richest persons in India. Why should he, despite his riches, be anxious to pay homage to the Buddha ? The reply

is given in the Erakapatta-nāgarāja-vatthu of the Dhammapada-Commentary, of which a counterpart may be found in the Mahāvastu. As hinted at by Cunningham, our bas-relief faithfully illustrates a story similar in many points to that in the Dhammapada-Commentary, which will be manifest from the following narration.

In the dispensation of Buddha Kāśyapa, Erakapatta was a young monk, who, while going in a boat along the Ganges, passed a jungle of Eraka-trees. He grasped an Eraka-leaf. Though the boat was moving rapidly, he did not let it go. The result was that the leaf was completely torn off. He thought it to be a mere trifle. But when he was about to die, he felt as though an Eraka-leaf hang about his neck like an alabaster of sin. His mistake was that he did not confess his fault. He died to be reborn to his shame as a Dragon-king, the measure of whose body was that of a dug-out canoe. "What a pity that after performing meditations for so long a time, I find myself in a feeding-place for frogs !'

He had a daughter. Lying on the surface of the water in the middle of the Ganges, he raised his great hood, placed his daughter therein, and caused her to dance and sing, which he practised as a device of attracting persons from whom he might gather information about the Buddha's advent. He had it proclaimed that if any one could sing a reply to his song, he would give him his daughter, and the power and wealth of a dragon king as a gift. Every fortnight, on Fastday, he placed his daughter in his hood, and she, poised there, danced, and sang this song :

"What manner of ruler is a king ?
What manner of king is under the dominion of passion ?
How may he free himself from the bondage of passion ?
Why is he called a simpleton ?"

Many suitors came with replies which were all rejected. At last came a wooer, the Brahmin youth Uttara, coached by the merciful Buddha, who felt pity for the Dragon-king. As the daughter of the Dragon-king sang her song, Uttara sang a counter-song in reply. "What a grand song and reply this must be, which none but a Buddha can suggest !" His heart was filled with joy at the very thought. With his tail he lashed the surface of the water, whereupon great waves arose, washing away both banks. "Master, where is the Teacher ?" he asked Uttara, approaching him. "He is sitting under one of the seven Śirīsha-trees near Benares." "Come, master, let us go." He, on their arrival at the place, bowed down to the Teacher and stood on one side weeping. "Great king, human estate is indeed

1 Mahāvastu, III. p. 384.

difficult to attain ; it is likewise difficult to gain the privilege of listening to the Law ; so also is the rise of a Buddha is difficult. For this latter is brought about with toil and trouble." As he listened to these words, he gained the fruit of conversion, and recovered the power of going about in human form.

The Barhut scene illustrates this story in three stages of its progress : (1) the Dragon-king looking out for information about the Buddha's appearance, (2) going to the place where the Buddha was, and (3) interviewing the Teacher. The surviving fragment of the panel presents six instead of seven Śirīsha-ttees. It is not in the Commentary-story that the Dragon queen and princess accompanied the king. In this point the scene has rather an agreement with the Mahāvastu-story.

16. Pl. XXI. 3 [Scene 70] :—Chakavāko Nāgarājā.[1]
"Chakravāka, the Dragon-chief."

The Dragon-chief Chakravāka adores the Buddha for the release from his piteous condition

This label is attached to the under life-size figure of a human demi-god, who is seen standing, with joined hands and comely mien, on a high rock showing the faces of two tigers, peeping out from their dens, beside a lotus-lake, where a swan is swimming, a few cranes stand in a significant attitude, and a crocodile stands in water with a gaping mouth, apparently with the intention of attacking some of the birds. His gracefully bound turban is canopied by a five-headed cobra-hood, which is characteristic of the figure of a Nāgarāja. His joined hands, held across his breast, are evidently directed towards the invisible presence of the Buddha. There must have been some Buddhist legend giving an account of Chakravāka's interview with the compassionate Master, paying respects to whom the Dragon-chief, like Ailapatra, regained the human form and speech.

A soldier-like figure. A sun-god or a demon ?

17. Pl. XXXII. 1 [Scene 71] :—Here Cunningham notices the figure of a soldier nearly of life size, whose head is bare, and whose short curly hair is bound with a broad band or ribbon, which is fastened at the back of the head in a bow, with its long ends streaming in the wind. His dress consists of a tunic with long sleeves, and reaching nearly to the mid-thigh. It is tied in two places by cords ; at the throat by a cord with two tassels, and across the stomach by a double-looped bow. The loins and thighs are covered with a dhoti which reaches below the knees, with the ends hanging down to the ground in front in a series of extremely stiff and formal folds. On the feet are boots, which reach high up the legs, and are either fastened or finished by a

1 Barua Sinha, No. 181.

cord with two tassels, like those on the neck of the tunic. In his left hand he carries a flower, and in his right a monstrously broad straight sword, sheathed in a scabbard, which is suspended from the left shoulder by a long flat belt. The extreme breadth of the sword exceeds the thickness of the man's arm, while its length may be about 2½ feet. The belt of the sword is straight, and without a guard. The face of the scabbard is ornamented with the favourite Buddhist Symbol of Triratna or the Triple Gem. The sword belt, after being passed through a ring attached to the side of the scabbard, appears to be crossed over the scabbard downwards, and then fastened to a ring at the tip, below which the broad ends hang down like the ends of a scarf.[1] We cannot but accept this graphic description in extenso. From the study of the costume Cunningham is led to take the figure to be a representation of a soldier in the service of the Mauryan kings. Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda is inclined to identify it with the Demon Viprachitti. The wearing of boots .aṭaliyo (upāhanā, gaṇaṅgaṇa-upāhanā) and 139 moving about being armed with a dagger (khagga) are mentioned indeed in the Saṁyutta-Nikāya (I, p. 226) as personal characteristics of the Demon Viprachitti. But these by themselves are not sufficient to justify the identification, There is no special label recording the name of the figure. The Votive Label shows that the figure is carved on a pillar which was a gift from a Buddhist monk Mahila.[2] If Mahila can be rightly equated with Mihila or Mihira, it is not impossible that here we have a second instance where the figure itself has the most intimate connexion with the name or epithet of the donor of the pillar gift. We mean that the figure itself is a representation of Mihira, the Sun-god. In the first instance we have the figure of a trooper sculptured on a pillar which was a gift from a donor who himself was a trooper (asavārika)[3]. The scabbard of the sword bears the Triratna symbol which indicates a connexion with Buddhism not so much of the figure as of the donor of the pillar, the Gentle Mahila. The figure itself holds in the hand a bunch of grapes which is indicative of the fact that it had something to do with a grape-growing country, namely, the north-western region of India, the border land of Persia. The identity of the Barhut figure with the Persian Sun-god will be evident from the following observations of late Professor R. G. Bhandarkar : "The form of the idol of the sun worshipped in sun temples is described by Varāhamihira (Bṛihatsaṁhitā, Chap. 58), but the features mentioned by him which have a significance for our present purpose are that his feet and legs should be enclosed or covered up to the knees and he should be dressed in the fashion prevalent in the North (v. 46), and that he should be encircled by an

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 32-33. 2 Barua Sinha. No. 26. 3 Barua Sinha Nos. 15.

avyaṅga (v. 47). Accordingly the images of the sun that are found in the sun temples have boots reaching up to knees and a girdle round the waist with one and hanging downwards."[1] The sun-god is represented at Barhut as a sword-bearer guarding the sanctity of the Buddhist shrine.

18. Pl. XXI. 2 [Scene 72] :—Here is an under life-size female figure, bedecked all over with the apparels and ornaments, made of pearls and gems. The net of pearls and jewels hanging over and covering her forehead cannot be passed unnoticed. She stands in a calm attitude, bending her left hand at right angles, and placing the palm on her body in front, while in her upraised right hand she gracefully holds a śaṅkha-padma,—a jewel in the form of a lotus-bud and conch-shell, provided with a stalk-like handle. Her feet, or better, her toes rest upon the palm of upraised hands of a strong man who is raising her up and standing up from a kneeling position. Thus she uses a man for her conveyance (purisavāhana) and he displays a muscular gymnastical feat. Her apparel and conveyance go to show that she is associated with Kuvera's capital Alakamandā, and even with Kuvera himself as his queen or daughter. His queen is mentioned in the Buddhist legends of queen Māyā's dream, while in one of the stories of the Vimānavatthu we have mention of Kuvera's four daughters, Latā, Sajjā, Rāji and Mati, all described as goddesses, with long locks of hair, golden complexion of skin, blue and red mango-like eyes, wearing the lotus-wreaths, and bathing in the cool water of a river covered with lotus.[2]

Alakamandā-Yakshiṇī ?

19. Pl. XXII 3 [Scene 73] :—Chaṁdā Yakhi.[3]
"Chandrā Yakshiṇī."

The figure of Chandrā Yakshiṇī is sculptured on the outer side of a left terminus pillar where we see her stand calmly under a tall flower-tree, holding one of the lower branches with her right hand and embracing the trunk with her left. Her left leg, which is entwined round the trunk, rests on the head of a horse-faced makara, while her right foot rests on the curled tail. She holds between the first two fingers of her left hand a hanging bunch of flowers, which is evidently plucked from the tree. One small bunch is also worn as an ornament over the hanging lock of hair on her right side. Among the rich apparel and ornaments that she wears, the most notable is a scarf-like ornament, which passes round her right side and over her left shoulder.

Chandrā Yakshiṇī.

1 Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems, pp, 154-155. By udichyaveśa is meant the fashion prevalent in the uttarāpatha (Commentary).

2 Vimānavatthu, No. 2. 3 Barua Sinha, No. 182.

20. Pl. XXIII. 2 [Scene 74] :—Yakhini Sudasanā.[1]
"Yakshiṇī Sudarśanā".

Sudarśanā Yakshiṇī

This label is attached to the sculptured figure of Yakshiṇī, called Sudarśanā or Beautiful, who is seen standing artfully on the head of an elephant-faced or rhinoceros-faced winged makara, the forepart of her right foot touching the head of the creature. She maintains her balance by resting her left foot across her right leg, bending up her right hand and placing her left hand upon her girdle of six strings. The four fingers of her right hand are bent towards her palm, while the thumb remains stretched out. She is evidently being carried aloft through the air.

21. Pl. XXXIII. 3 [Scene 73] :—Chulakokā Devatā.[2]
"The little hunter-goddess"

Kshudrakokā, the goddess of the hunters taking stand on the back of elephants.

Here we have a representation of the goddess Kshudrakokā as an under life-size figure of short stature, mounted on a quickly moving elephant, in a standing attitude, with her right leg resting on the back and her left leg on the head of the animal. She wears on over her gracefully combed hair a finely woven ornamental head-covering, hanging on her back. She wears a heavenly apparel, heavy pendent earrings, several pieces of bracelets, a necklace having six rows of beads, a girdle with six strings, high entwined anklets, and a bangle-shaped additional foot-ornament in each leg. The elephant's motion is arrested on coming against a fairly tall tree which she embraces with her left hand, grasping its lower branch above her head with her right hand to pluck or plunder its fruits, and entwining its trunk with her left leg. The elephant uses its proboscis to embrace the tree. The tree has small compound leaves, and a clean, round, and tall trunk, while its bunches of flowers or small fruits adorning all of its small branches seem to connect it with the Aśoka tree. A goddess of her name is nowhere met with in Indian literature. The significance of her name is also not quite clear. The inscription has been found ~~out~~ at Dinajpur naming the image of a Hindu temple as Kokāmukhasvāmi. Some of the epigraphists conjecture that here is a definite reference to a deity, who is the husband of a goddess Kokāmukhi or the Barhut Kokā. But there is a great difference in meaning between a Kokā and a Kokāmukha. Kokāmukhasvāmi is just another name of the Boar Incarnation of Vishṇu, the word Kokāmukha signifying a dog-faced beast, i.e., a boar. In the Dhammapada-Commentary, Kokā is distinctly used

1 Barua Sinha, No. 183. 2 Barua Sinha, No. 184.

as the name of a hunter, who used to hunt by setting dogs upon the victim (see Koka-Sunakha-Vatthu). If it could have been construed as an adjective qualifying the dogs, Koka would perhaps mean Koñka-'crying', 'bemoaning', and the goddess might be associated with the habit of screaming at night. But seeing that Koka occurs as the name of the hunter, one might be led to surmise that it was a tribal name, that the Kokas were an aboriginal tribe of hunters, whose tutelary deities were known after it as Koka's. On the other hand, in the Vessantara-Jātaka, the term kokā signify sunakhā or dogs, employed by a hunter to surround a game. This goes to show that Kshudrakokā was the tutelary goddess of the special class of hunters ranging the wood on the back of elephants.

22. Pl. Indian Museum. 6 (29) a [Scene 76] :—This is apparently a life-size figure of another class of the Kokā goddesses, with middle stature, mounted upon a high-mettled and nicely caparisoned horse. She stands on the back of the horse, embracing a tall tree to her left, exactly as Kshudrakokā stands on the back of the elephant. Among the notable points of difference, we see that her necklace contains seven strings instead of six, seven hip-belts instead of six, and ornamental tinkling bells in the place of bangle-shaped foot-ornament. Although the foliage of the tree is broken off and there is no inscription recording her name, we may be fully justified in classing her as Majhimakokā, the midling hunter-goddess and describing her as a tutelary deity of the middle class of hunters ranging the wood on horse-back.

Madhyamakokā, the goddess of the hunters taking stand on the back of horses.

23. Pl. XX. Gateway Pillar. Piece found At Pataora.

Side [Scene 19] : — Mahākokā Devatā.

"The great hunter-goddess"

This inscription serves as a label for the under life-size figure of a third class of Kokā goddesses, standing on earth under a tree to her right. She looks much fatter and appears to be heavy-built. But this is due to the treatment of the relief. She wears two pieces of necklace instead of one, and wears no additional foot-ornament below the entwined anklets. The tree is the same as one under which Kshudrakokā stands. She holds with her right hand the lower branch, while her left hand rests on her left thigh, with the forefinger manfully pointed towards some object. She appears to be the tutelary goddess of the general class of hunters taking stand on earth under a tree.

Mahākokā, the goddess of the hunters taking stand on earth.

1 Barua Sinha, No. 185.

24. Pl. XXXVI. 7 [Scene 77] :— Here we see a goddess, evidently Gaṅgā Devatā, riding on the back of an elephant-faced makara on the surface of a river where a lotus-shrub lifts up its head above water. She is urging the makara to move fast with a goad held by her in her right hand. The makara swims by upraising its trunk. In the Machchhuddāna-Jātaka (F. 288), the goddess is represented as the presiding deity of the river and custodian of the fishes.

Gaṅgā the goddess.

25. (a) Pl. XXIII. 2 [Scene 74] :—Sirimā devatā.[1]

"Śrīmatī, the goddess."

This label is attached to the figure of a female deity characterised by a protuberant hip and a prominent bust which are probably indicative of the power of production and feeding. The goddess remains standing with even feet on a level roof of a railing-like structure with her left hand suspended at full length along her left side, while with her right hand she holds out a flower that appears to be a datura. She wears apparel and ornaments which characterise other female deities. In the Lalita-Vistara[2] and the Mahāvastu[3] versions of the Āṭānāṭiya-Sutta, the four varieties of the goddess of luck are associated with Virūḍhaka, the regent of the southern quarter, and they bear the appellations of Śirimatī or Śriyāmatī, Yaśamatī, Yaśaḥprāptā or Lakshimatī, and Yaśodharā. The name of the goddess as recorded in the Barhut label seems to correspond to Śrīmatī. This Barhut representation of Sirimā has, as shown by Professor Rhys Davids, a faithful correspondence in the images of her found in the temples of South India.[4] The Siri-Kālakaṇṇi-Jātaka (F. 383) introduces us to a Siridevi or Lakkhi, who is described as the daughter of Dhataraṭṭha, the regent of the eastern quarter. In this Jātaka, precisely as in the Indian stories of Nala and and Śrīvatsa, Śrī or Luck is compared and contrasted with Kālakarṇī or Misfortune, the latter being described as the daughter of Virūpakkha, the regent of the western quarter. Siri the goddess is said to have come with raiment and ointment of golden hue and ornament of golden brightness to the door of the presence-chamber of a wise banker, diffusing yellow light, resting with even feet on level ground (samehi pādehi samaṁ paṭhaviyaṁ) standing respectful, and introducing herself as Fortune and Luck (Siri ca Lakkhi ca), the daughter of Dhataraṭṭha the fortunate (sirima), whom men admired as Wisdom. But the reader is to decide whether this Jātaka descrip-

Goddess of lucky grace.

1 Barua Sinha, No. 186.
2 Lalita-Vistara, Chap. XXIV.
3 Mahāvastu, III, p. 307.
4 Buddhist India, pp. 217-221.

tion of the goddess is applicable to this figure af Sirimā or to another figure which is described below.

(b) **Pl. Cunningham's Original Photograph** [Scene 7] :—The outer side of a right terminus pillar, recently brought into the Indian Museum, Calcutta, bears

Another goddess of lucky grace.

the sculptured figure of a female deity which bears a general likeness to the figure of Sirimā. Comparing the two figures we cannot but admit that instead of one we have at Barhut two different representations of the goddess of luck. In the present instance the goddess stands in the same attitude of feet on level ground, holding a hanging lotus-bundle in her left hand suspended at full length along her left side, and placing her right hand just below her chest. The palm being broken off we cannot say if anything was held in the right hand. There is nothing very special to note in her apparel and ornaments except that she wears two single anklets one on each foot.

26. (a) Pl. XXXVI. 1 [Scene 79] :—This is a decorative design which offers an example of sculptural representation, where Śrī the goddess of glory is seated

Śri the goddess of glory.

cross-legged, the soles of her feet touching each other. She sits with joined hands, held just below her breast, and indicating a respectful attitude. She sits on a full-blown lotus blossoming out of a large ornamented jar, the neck of which bears a lotus-design. The jar itself rests upon a lotus-stand. The lotus-shrub shows two other flowers blossoming on two sides of the lotus in the middle, and standing artfully upon these outer flowers two elephants pour water over the head of the goddess from two sides from two jars, held over her head by the elephants with the help of their trunks. In this example the jars do not touch each other, and these are held up a little above the head of the goddess. Of the apparel and ornaments worn by her, no traces now remain except those of anklets.

(b) Indian Museum [Scene 80] :—Here we have a second example of representation of the same goddess, which shows a more ornamental finish. In this example the goddess, instead of sitting cross-legged, remains standing, holding up with her left hand one end of the girdle which hangs on her left side, and placing her right hand upon her breast. The apparel and ornaments that she wears are precisely those which characterise the figures of other female deities. In this representation the elephants stand closer to the goddess, and the jars touch each other and are held up just over the head of the goddess. In none of these two instances the goddess holds a lotus in her hand as she should according to the Brahmanical description—padmasthā padmahastā cha ghaṭotkshiptajalaplutā. But she is seated on

a lotus, and water is poured over her head from the jars. Śrī or Glory and three other cognate deities, Āśā (Hope), Śraddhā (Faith) and Hrī or Hirī in the Lalita-Vistara and Mahāvastu versions are mentioned in the Āṭānāṭiya-Sutta as heavenly damsels guarding the northern quarter, and as it should be, the figures of the goddess Śrī, exactly in the form met with at Barhut are sold now-a-days in the bazars of northern India. The four deities, Śrī and the rest, are mentioned in the Sudhābhojana-Jātaka (F. 535) as the four daughters of Śakra or Indra. As shown elsewhere[1], these were results of poetic personification of four abstract ideas or principles, and the process can be traced from the Vedic hymns.

27. Pl. Indian Museum. 45 (10) a [Scene 81] :—Here we see a handsome female figure standing gracefully on a large full-blown lotus growing in a lotus-lake. She shows a tattoo-mark on her forehead just below her ornamental head-covering, and usually wears earrings, a necklace with a medal suspended from it, a flat chain falling over her breast, and bracelets and anklets adorning her hands and legs. She stands in a waiting attitude, with a large harp, held up in front, across her body, between the palm of her left hand and the back of her right, and balanced by tilting up its upper part under her left arm, almost forgetting herself before a grand sight that has engaged her attention. There is no label to help us to recognise her identity. But there can be no doubt that she represents a heavenly maiden, described in Buddhist literature as a Lotus-nymph, playing on a harp. Some of the stories in the Vimānavatthu give a poetical description of this class of maidens, well-trained in the art of dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments. The scenic effect of the representation of this class of maidens will be evident from the following quotation from the Sutta-Nipāta-Commentary[2] : "When Śakra, king of heaven, goes to his pleasaunce for amusement, the god Airāvaṇa transforms himself into a mighty elephant-king, assuming a body, 150 leagues in extent, and having 33 trunks, each trunk showing two tusks, each tusk bearing up seven tanks, each tank containing seven lotus-shrubs, each shrub presenting seven flowers, each flower comprising seven petals, each petal showing seven nymphs, dancing in it. These maidens, who are Śakra's dancing women, are well-known as Lotus-nymphs." The Vimānavatthu description goes to show that their function was not confined to dancing but included singing as well as playing on the harp and other musical instruments. Here we may trace an early iconic form of the Hindu deity Sarasvati.

Padumachchharā : Lotus-nymph.

1 Barua Sinha, No. 186, Notes. 2 Paramatthajotika, II. pp. 368-369.

28. Pl. Indian Museum [Scene 81a] :—The statue of a female deity figures on the inner face of a right terminus pillar. She is seen standing on the back of a makara with the head and face of a leonine animal, holding out in her uplifted left hand something which is broken off. There is no label recording her name. Her apparel and ornaments are certainly those characterising the figures of other female deities. The figure is evidently that of a Yakshiṇī or a goddess.

Some unknown Yakṣiṇī or goddess.

29. [Missing] :—Bahuhathika-asana Bhagavato Mahadevasa.[1]—

"The Bahuhastika seat of the Divine and Mighty Lord."

The scene to which this inscription referred is missing. Cunningham says that he found the inscription engraved on a pillar above a medallion filled with a lotus-design, and as such it does not appear to have referred to any carving on the pillar itself. He seems to think that the point of reference was a representation within a distinct stone-enclosure to which the pillar itself belonged, and that the representation itself was that of a throne with a number of human hands carved on the front, the hands being intended as symbols of worshippers[1].

Buddha's seat frequented and guarded by a herd of wild elephants.

It is rather unusual that the inscription referring to a throne should be incised on a pillar in the enclosure, and not on the throne itself. We think that the pillar itself was sculptured with a scene in which the Buddha's seat or throne was frequented and guarded by a herd of wild elephants, and if it be that the scene had no place in a full medallion, it must have filled the half-medallion at the top. There are two other inscriptions engraved in a scene in which the expression bahuhathika occurs and distinctly signifies something characterised by the presence of many elephants. The following representation of Triangular Resort affords a good example of this scene.

29. Pl. XXVIII. 1 [Scene 83] :—Tikoṭiko chakmo.[2]

"The Triangular resort."

Here in the upper left quarter of the medallion Cunningham sees a highly ornamented triangular recess, in which is seated a three-headed serpent apparently on a lotus throne. In the lower left quarter he sees two lions. The whole of the right half is filled with elephants in various attitudes of eating and drinking. There are altogether seven elephants. The one at the bottom is shown in the act of plucking sheaf of corn ; the next above

The scene of a Chaṅkrama or of a Jātaka.

1 Stupa of Bharhut, pp. 14, 143. 2 Burma Sinha. No.

him is throwing his trunk backwards over his head ; the third is filling his trunk with water from a stone bowl ; below him the head only of the fourth elephant appears ; the fifth is pouring the water from his trunk down his throat ; the sixth has thrown his trunk back over his head like the second ; and the seventh, a large tusker, stands full to the front, his ears extended. The attitudes of some of these figures are well conceived and fairly executed, and the scene is both natural and animated. As the word nāga means an elephant as well as a snake, the scene may be taken to be a representation of the Nāgaloka which, according to Buddhist cosmogony, was placed in the waters under the Trikūṭa-parvata or three-peaked mountain that supported Mt. Meru, the triangle of scene being the triangular base of the Trikūṭa mountain.[1]

The scene is well described by Cunningham as it may appear at first sight. The presence of two trees indicates that the scene is laid in a forest or mountainous region. The triangular resort, referred to in the inscription, is a triangular lake or pool which is guarded by its three-headed dragon dweller (triśīrsha-nāgarājā). The three banks represent three uniform sides of the triangle bearing various auspicious marks of leaves and flowers on their ornamented surface. The dragon-chief is evidently lying on his back at the bottom of the lake jealously keeping watch over the surface of water from below. The two lions below the lake stand facing each other, one looking towards the front, the other looking towards the back, and the both of them showing an attitude of alertness in making attacks, with their gaze fixed in the same outward direction. As regards the herd of wild elephants, the various attitudes of eating and drinking are not so important as those of keeping watch and guard. The one at the bottom who stands close to one of the lions, keeping the front legs erect and the gaze fixed in the outward direction, is posted as a sentinel. Two powerful elephants besides the sentinel stand vigorously on the right, facing the same direction as is faced by the sentinel and the lions. They are apparently stationed as generals, while the leader of the herd stands majestically beside them, in the upper part of the medallion, watching the whole situation before his eyes. This leader, the two generals and sentinel encircle the younger elephants, among whom the bigger ones stand face to face, and the smallest one drinks water from a stone bowl. What is the subject of this scene ? One might be tempted to think that the subject is a Birth-story in which the Bodhisat, then born as a powerful elephant, lived as the lord of a herd in a forest reigion infested with lions, near a triangular lake which was the dwelling place of a

1 Stupa os Barhut, pp. 23, 25-29, 41-42.

fearful dragon-chief, vigilantly guarding his followers against all dangers. But this interpretation cannot stand in view of the fact that the elephants and the lions are apprehending the danger from one and the same direction. There is no sign of an attempt on the part of the lions to attack the elephants. The representation is rather of a scene in which they have a common cause to serve. The inscription characterises the representation as the scene of a triangular resort. The resort itself is a triangular lake which is the meeting place of a dragon-chief, a pack of lions and a herd of wild elephants. If the resort were a simple lake, we cannot understand why its banks should be highly ornamented. The resort must be associated in some way with the Buddha or Buddhas. It may be a triangular lake in a forest region, on the bank of which the Buddha or Buddhas washed the robes, and which was guarded by the dragon-chief, the lions and the elephants. Hwen Thsang's description of a lake in Benares may throw some light on the meaning of the scene. In one of the lakes, says Hwen Thsang, the Buddha used to wash his robes, and a dragon dwelt in it. "The water is deep and its taste sweet ; it is pure and resplendent in appearance, and neither increases nor decreases. When men of a bad character bathe here, the crocodiles come forth and kill many of them ; but in case of the reverential who wash here, they need fear nothing. By the side of the pool where Tathāgata washed his garments in a great square stone, on which are yet to be seen the trace-marks of his kashāya robe. The bright lines of the tissue are of a minute and distinct character, as if carved on the stone. The faithful and pure come to make their offerings here ; but when the heretics and men of evil mind speak lightly of or insult the stone, the dragon-king inhabiting the pool causes the winds to rise and rain to fall."[1] In taking the scene to be a representation of the Nāgaloka under the three-peaked mountain Cunningham himself admits that he cannot explain the presence of the lions[2].

30. Pl. XXXIV. 2 [Scene 85] :--Tiram[h]i timigila-kuchimha

Vasugupo mochito mahādevānaṁ.[3]

Vasugupta is brought ashore, being rescued from Tiniṅgila's belly by the power of the name of the mighty lord."

1 Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, II, p. 49.

2 Mr. Gokuldas De of the Calcutta University has shown (Calcutta Review, 1929, pp. 367—72) that the description of the Trikūta mountain in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa is of such a nature that one may explain many of the details of the Barhut scene.

3 Barua Sinha, No. 165.

This is a fine medallion-carving which still lies buried under the walls of the palace at Uchahara. The bas-relief presents a very curious scene, where Cunningham observes two boats on a rough sea, each containing three men. A huge fish with open mouth is swallowing one of the boats with its crew, while the crew of the second boat, who have stopped rowing, are evidently anticipating the same fate. The boats afford two examples. They are of exactly the same build as the boat in the Sanchi sculptures. The planks are fastened together by iron clamps. The oars are shaped somewhat like large spoons, each having a long bamboo handle, with a flat piece of wood at the end to hold the water. In India the very same pattern of boat and the same oars are still in use at the present day, which is a proof of the unchanging habits of the Hindus.[1]

Overpowered by the Lord's glorious name, the sea-monster leviathan lets out from his jaw' Vasugupta, who finds himself secure on sea-shore with his followers.

Judged apart from any reference to the explanatory inscription and literary tradition, Cunningham's reading would have been accurate and correct. The sea is rough, boats there are two, the huge fish with open mouth is swallowing one of the boats with its crew, and the crew of the other boat having stopped pulling the oars, are anticipating the same tragic fate, True. But the accompanying label compels us to look for the rich merchant Vasugupta and make out the sea-shore where he was at last brought. The monster fish swallowing the boat with its crew is, according to the label, Timiṅgila, a larger species of the Leviathan, the swallower of Timi. We read in literature that there is a still larger species, Timiṅgila-gila, the swallower of the swallower. Vasugupta of the label is the man who sits in front, heroically facing the danger, among the crew of the longer boat within Timiṅgila's jaws. He is at once diatinguished from the rest by his dignified appearance, prominent earrings and ring-shaped diadem over his forehead. we can easily point out the sea-shore, represented in the upper part, beside the second boat. Going by the description in the label, the boat and crew within Timiṅgila's grasp may be taken as both going in and coming out. The label gives also the reason for Vasugupta's bold calmness before the impending danger and release, which is the deep concentration of his mind and sweet recollection of

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 124.

1. Khila-Harivaṃśa, Vishṇuparva, Ch. XXXIII. 15-16:
Samudraḥ cratyuvāchedaṃ daityaḥ pañchajano mahūn,
Timirūpeṇa taṃ bālaṃ grastavāṅ iti Māhava ?
Unmathya salilād asmād gtastavān iti Bhārata-

2. Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, d, 209 :
The dewas......requested Buddha......to agitate the sea of the Abhidharmma as the fish-king Timiṅgala agitates the ocean."

the name of the mighty saviour, his Lord. Is it sufficient to say that the sea is rough? Is the sea really rough, or is it merely a case of commotion in sea-water caused, according to an old Indian saying, by a Timi or Timiṅgila? We see a big whirlpool, with a deep depression in sea-water, proceeding from the Timiṅgila's mouth, causing all sorts of fishes to fall into. The jaws of the monster are adorned with a curved row of sharp teeth, like those of a saw. In the Mahāsutasoma-Jātaka (F. 537), Timiṅgala or Timiṅgila is counted among the six monster-fishes (chha mahāmachchhā) in the ocean, one thousand leagues in extent. These fishes, as the Jātaka would fondly have us believe, fed on rock śaivāla, i.e., kept to a vegetarian diet, before they came by accident to taste with relish the fishes under their care. We read in the Divyāvadāna[1] that living creatures live in three layers of water in the ocean. Those who live in the first layer vary from one to three hundred leagues in extent, those that live in the second layer from eight to fourteen, and those that live in the third from fifteen to twenty-one. The fishes eat one another, those of the first layer serving as food to those of the second, and those of the second to those of the third. The Timiṅgila, who lives in the third layer, rising up, moves about as if carrying before him the whole volume of water in the first layer. When he opens his mouth after forcing out air, the water of the ocean is thrown out in streams and rushes back, compelling all fishes, turtles, crocodiles, alligators, sharks, and the rest to fall within his grasp. From a distance he appears like a high mountain, while his eyes shine forth as though they were two great suns. These phenomena can be clearly discerned in our bas-relief, where we also see that all but Vasugupta look, in fear of life, to this or that direction for help. The cause of this cannot be unveiled till we make out the story itself. We are indeed much indebted to Mr. N. G. Majumdar, for drawing our attention to the introductory episode of the story of Dharmaruchi in the Divyāvadāna[2] and Avadānakalpalatā[3], which fits in with the same.

The Blessed One was once staying up in Jetavana, when five hundred merchants of Śrāvastī were returning home from the high seas. While they were yet in the ocean, they saw from a distance a curious sight of a being appearing like a high mountain, with eyes shining like two suns. They fell thinking what it might be, when the ship began already to move with great speed towards the jaws of the monster. Was the world-order coming to an end? They all turned to the pilot to tell them what it was. "Friends" he said, "you must have heard of the danger arising from Timi-Timiṅgilas. Now we are faced with this very danger. Look how the

1 Divyāvadāna, p. 230. 2 Divyāvadāna, pp. 228 foll. 3 Avadānakalpalatā, No. 89,

monster fish rising up from water, appears like a mountain. The red lines that you mark are his two lips. That which looks like a string of white beads is the row of his teeth. Note how his eye-balls shine like the sun. There is no way out of it, our death is an inevitable fact. The utmost you can do is to call each upon his own god to grant you safety." In fear of their lives, they called upon Śiva, Varuṇa, Kuvera, Mahendra, Upendra, and the rest. But this failed to prevent the vessel rushing into the monster's grasp. Fortunately, there was amongst them a faithful Buddhist lay-devotee, who said, "I see that die we must, let us all say in one voice 'Namo Buddhāya', 'Glory be to the Lord', for even if we die with our mind fixed upon a sweet recollection of qualities of the Buddha, it will help us to attain a happier lot." They humbly bowed down in obeisance to the Lord, crying out in one voice 'Namo Buddhāya'. This set the Timiṅgila athinking. How to save the vessel and its crew ? If he violently closes his mouth, they go into destruction. He gently closed and opend his jaws to control the commotion, to enable the ship to recede back and reach the shore, moving by a favourable wind. The merchants safely got ashore, and on returning home, they did all they could to show proper honour to the Blessed Lord, by the glory of whose name they were saved'

Instead of the sailing ship, we find in the Barhut relief the boat with oars.

iii. (a). FROM DŪRE-NIDĀNA—
REMOTE SECTION.

Caravan in distress.

1. Pl. XXXIV. 1 [Scene 86] :—This bas-relief is carved in a rail-medallion. It presents, as noticed by Cunningham,[1] a large cart, which is a costly vehicle, fitted with two wheels, straight wooden sides and a straight wooden back. Cunningham also notices a square-shaped roof, placed on the ground, beside the cart. The driver, according to his description, is seated on the ground with a cloth passed round his knees and loins, confronting two bullocks that are sitting in the usual drowsy fashion. He has no suggestion for the identification. Mr. Rama Prasad Chanda identifies the scene with the Buddhist story of Trapusha and Bhalluka, the two trader brothers who waited upon the Buddha shortly after his attainment of Buddhahood. But if it had been really a scene of this story, why is it that there is to be seen only one man instead of two ? Why again, it may be asked, is the man sitting despondently on the ground behind or beneath the cart, or the situation is so dismal as indicated by the unyoked bullocks drowsily lying down upon their legs in an opposite direction beside the cart ? It is too bold a presumption to maintain that the square-shaped object, taken by Cunningham to be

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 125.

the roof of the cart, is a folded robe, which the trader brothers carried as a worthy present for a Buddha. It rather looks like the surface of something overhead, divided into four square blocks, one within another. Close to it, there is a small circular pavement with a circular hole, presenting a swollen face. The story of Trapusha-Bhalluka cannot explain these details. It is the story of the Vaṇṇupatha or Jaṇṇupatha[1] Jātaka (F. 2) which alone tallies with the subject of the bas-relief[2].

The Bodhisat was then born, according to this Jātaka, into a trader's family in the realm of Kāśī. On coming of age, he began to travel about trading with 500 carts. Once he was journeying over a sandy desert, sixty leagues across, with his carts and retinue, conveyed by a pilot. Thinking that a night's journey was enough to see them out of the wilderness, he ordered his men to throw away their wood and water. The pilot sat in the front cart upon a coach, observing the motion of the stars and directing the course of a caravan. Going some distance he became tired and fell asleep. The result was that he failed to notice when the oxen had turned round and retraced their steps, bringing the carts, at dawn, back to the very place from which they started. "We are where we camped yesterday !" cried the people of the caravan. "All our wood and water is gone !" They unyoked their carts, made a laager and spread awning overhead, each man flinging himself down in despair beneath his cart. But the Bodhisat soon found out a grassy spot where water could be obtained. Digging some sixty cubits down, the spade struck on a rock, yet no water came out. The Bodhisat did not lose confidence. Feeling sure there must be water under the rock, he ordered his young assistant to go down into the hole with an iron sledge-hammer and strike the rock that dammed the stream. He forthwith carried out his master's order. The rock was struck, split asunder and fell in. Water rushed up through the hole to the joy of all. Thus the wise being managed to save the situation.

2. Pl. XLVIII. 2 [Scene 87] :—Maghādeviya-Jātakaṁ.[3]

"The Jatāka-scene relating to Mahādeva."

In this small Coping-panel Cunningham notices a Jātaka-scene where a king is seated between two attendants, with his left hand resting on his

1 Mahāniddesa, p. 155.

2 Cf. a similar scene at Amarāvati, identified by Stela Kramrisch (Indian Sculpture, Fig. 40) evidently accepting identification of the Barhut bas-relief.

3 Barua Sinha, No. 189.

On being shown grey hair King Mahādeva of Videha resigns his kingdom in favour of the crown prince and renounces the world.

knees and his right hand raised before his face, holding something small between his forefinger and thumb. The attendant on his right is leaning forward, and apparently drawing the king's attention to a similar object, which he also holds up between the forefinger and thumb of his right hand. The pensive appearance of the king might lead one to think that the small thing on his hand was a pill, and that this attendant was a physician who held up another pill. Mr. Beglar thought that this figure was a physician, whose action seemed to be that of feeling the finger of the king. But the two hands do not actually touch, although they are placed very close together, and may perhaps be holding the same grey hair. The third person is merely an attendant, who stands to the left of the king, with his hands joined upon his breast in an attitude of respect. When once the name of the subject, Maghādeviya-Jātaka, is known, the spirit of the scene is evident, and the story is perhaps as well told as such a subject could be in sculpture.[1]

Here we see indeed in the middle a king seated in the throne consisting of a high-back and wall-side modern office chair. He, instead of leaning against the back side of the throne, rather sits drawing himself towards his front, touching the ground with his bare feet, so bending his left hand that it rests alongside of his body and rests as well on his left thigh reaching up to his knee, and so turning him a little aside that he, keeping up his usual dignity, can raise his right hand before his face and spread his palm, allowing a man on his right to put in it something very small with the help of a pincer-like instrument. The king is gravely and at the same time wistfully looking at the thing as it is being put in his hand by the second man who is standing behind his throne and now leans forward over the back of the throne and proceeds towards its right corner and side so as to enable himself to reach the king's right hand without coming too near. The king, as usual, wears earrings, necklaces and bracelets. His unlocked long hair gracefully hangs down on two sides of his head, being parted in the middle, and it seems as though he is wearing a wig. There can be little doubt that the second man is an Indian barber or hair-dresser who appears with a turban on his head and a large linen waist-band tightly wrapping up his body over his dhoti. We see before him and on the right side of the king's throne his canoe-shaped shaving-pot holding in it a broom-shaped shaving-brush and resting on the narrow mouth of a vault-shaped basket-work of small flat and thin bamboo-splints, interwoven with

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 78-79.

bands of split rattan cane, a mechanism serving as a stand and as a means of entrapping and encaging fishes and such other creatures. The razor which is the barber's main instrument unfortunately is not shown. The second attendant stands, as observed by Cunningham, on the king's left, in an attitude of respect. His appearance and general posture show that he is a younger member of the royal family, who has been called into the king's presence and is expectantly waiting to hear what the king has got to say, but the king is so busy with his barber that he has no leisure as yet to speak to him. The inscription labels the scene as Maghādeviya-Jātaka. We trace in the Commentary-collection a Birth-story with the Pāli title Makhādeva-Jātaka or Maghādeva-Jātaka (F. 9).[1] An earlier and more interesting version of this Birth-story is embodied in the Makhādeva-Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya (No. 83), and this version is mentioned as a Suttanta example of Jātaka in the Chulla-Niddesa (p. 80). The Niddesa title Maghādeviya-Suttanta stands midway between the Nikāya and the Barhut names. The Suttanta story of Makhādeva or Maghādeva contains also the story of Nimi, treated as a separate Jātaka in the Jātaka-Commentary. The Chariyā-Piṭaka story of Makhādeva is a much simpler narration, emphasizing his particular practice. These stories in literature attest that the Barhut label names the scene after the Bodhisat, King Makhādeva, Maghādeva or Mahādeva, the founder of the kingdom of Videha with Mithilā as its capital. The Ceylonese version, based upon the commentaries, describes Makhādeva as the first mortal whose hair turned gray.[2] According to an old legend in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, Māthava Videgha or Mādhava Videha was the founder of the Videha kingdom, and it is not unlikely that this Māthava or Mādhava is the Makhādeva or Mahādeva of the Buddhist legend and genealogy. The Suttanta-story extols the whole Videha line of kings, from Makhādeva to Nimi for withdrawal from the world on being shown a grey hair by the barber. Besides the Makhādeva and the Nimi there are two other Jātakas, viz. the Susima (F. 411) and the Chulla-Sutasoma (F. 525), which exemplify the Bodhisat's renunciation at the sight of a grey hair. The Suttanta story which is the basis of the commentary version is as follows :—

Formerly in the city of Mithilā there was a king, Makhādeva by name, who was righteous and ruled righteously, faithfully observing fast and other religious duties. This king, after many years, many hundreds and thousands of years had passed away, asked his barber to let him know when he detected any grey hair on his

1 Bigandet calls it Devadūta-Jātaka.

2 Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, pp. 129 foll.

head. After many, many hundreds and thousands of years had passed away, the barber saw grey hair on his head and called his attention to this fact, a single grey hair according to the Commentary story. "Pull them out, my friend, and lay them in my palm." The barber plucked them out with his tongs, golden tongs as the commentary would say, and laid them one by one in his hand. At this point we read in the Commentary : "The king had at that time still eighty-four thousand years more to live ; but nevertheless at the sight of that one grey hair he was filled with deep emotion. He seemed to see the King of Death standing over him, or to be cooped within a blazing hut of leaves. Foolish Makhādeva ! he cried ; grey hairs have come upon you before you have been able to rid yourself of depravities. And as he thought the sweat rolled down from his body ; whilst his raiment oppressed him and seemed intolerable." After giving the grant of a village to his barber he called his eldest son into his presence and said to him : "Noble prince, my son, grey hairs are come upon me, and I am become old. I have had my fill of human joys, and fain would taste the joys divine ; the time for my renunciation has come. Take the sovereignty upon yourself ; as for me, I will take up my abode in the pleasaunce, the mango-grove bearing my name, and there tread the ascetic's path. But see my son, noble prince, that when you see grey hairs on your head you make the grant of a village to your barber, resign the kingdom to your eldest son, and tread the ascetic's path. This good round of duty set up by me, you must keep going on, see that you are not become my annihilator by ending this line of action so long as the present line of kings continues to rule." The king did what he said, and the prince did what he was told. Makhādeva amused himself as prince for eighty-four thousand years, ruled as viceroy for the same number of years, for the same number of years he reigned as king, and the same number of years he passed as ascetic. The tradition was kept up by his son, grandson, and his worthy later descendants, eighty-four thousand in number, the last of whom was the illustrious king Nimi. King Kaḷāra Janaka of his line became his annihilator by giving up the tradition for the first time.

The Commentary story says that the king also took leave of his ministers explaining to them the reason of his retirement in the most stirring words. But the Barhut scene rather follows the earlier version, representing the king, as it does, as taking leave only of his eldest son, the prince and viceroy.

3. Pl. XLIII. 2 [Scene 88] :—Isimiga-Jātakaṁ.[1]

"Bodhisat's part in saintly deer birth."

1 Barua Sinha, No. 190.

In this scene Cunningham sees two figures, one a man, apparently a royal huntsman by his costume, and a deer, with a tree in the background.[1]

This description is hardly sufficient for the identification of the scene. Here, on the left, we see a deer standing beside a tree, the presence of which indicates that the scene has been laid in a garden. The forelegs of the deer rest upon a block which shows an arch to put the head of the deer under it. On the right is a man who stands with an axe, held on his left shoulder. He stands facing the deer and holding the upper lip of the latter. Dr. Hultzsch has ably identified the scene with the Nigrodhamiga-Jātaka (F. 12), narrating how a deer-king offered himself as a substitute at the execution-block in the royal park to save the life of a doe.[2] The Jātaka relates :—

The saintly deer himself appears in the execution block as a substitute for a doe during her maternity.

The Bodhisat was then born as a golden deer. His eyes were like round jewels. His horns were silvery white. His mouth was red as a bunch of scarlet cloth. His hoofs were as though lacquered. His tail was like the yak's. He was as big as a young foal. He dwelt in the forest as King Banyan Deer with a herd of five hundred deer under him. Hard by him lived another golden deer, Branch Deer by name, with an attendant of five hundred deer. In those days the king of Benares was passionately fond of hunting, and every day went hunting, taking with him the whole of his subjects, stopping all their work. Seeing that they were disturbed in their daily work, the subjects of this king managed by a well-planned device to drive the herds of deer with their leaders, the Banyan and Branch Deer, from their forest haunt into the royal park, and imprison them there. The king being informed that his pleasaunce was filled with the deer driven from the forest, went there, and in looking over the herds saw among them two golden deer, to whom he granted immunity. Sometimes he would go of his own accord and shoot a deer to bring home ; sometimes his cook would go, and shoot one. In shooting one deer they struck terror into the heart of the rest, causing them to dash off trembling for their lives. The Banyan Deer discussed the matter with Branch, and decided that one deer should go to the block (dhammagaṇḍika) by turns, one day one from one herd, and that the deer on whom the lot would fall should go to the place of execution and lie down with its head on the block. Now one day the lot fell on a pregnant doe of the herd of Branch. She went to Branch, and said, "Lord, I am with young.

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 75.
2 JRAS, 1912.

When I have brought forth my little one, there will be two of us to take our turn." Order me to be passed over this turn." "No, I cannot make you turn another's", said he. Finding no favour with him, she went to Banyan, and told him her story. He granted her her prayer, but chose to lay down his own life for her, taking her doom on himself. He forthwith came up to the place of execution where he lay down with his head on the block. The cook of the royal household came as usual to the park, and was much surprised to see the golden deer-king lying on the block. "Why here's the king of the deer who was granted immunity! What does this mean?" He ran off to the king to tell him what he saw. Therewithal the king personally came to the park to inquire into the matter. My friend the king of the deer, "he said, "did I not promise you your life? How comes it that you are lying here?" The noble deer-king frankly related the whole story to him. "If so, arise," answered the king, speaking feelingly, "I spare the lives both of you and of her." "Though two be spared, what shall the rest of deer here and elsewhere and other beasts and birds do, O king of men?" "I spare their lives too, my lord." Thus interceding with the king for the lives of all creatures, the Bodhisat arose, and teaching the truth to the king, passed into the forest with his attendant herd.

The Barhut representation of the Banyan is life-like, and faithful to the literary description. It is difficult to understand whether the man who stands conversing with the deer, with an axe on his shoulder, is the cook or the king himself.

4. Pl. XLIV: 8 [Scene 81a] :—The subject of this bas-relief, as suggested by Cunningham, is the reverence paid by a herd of spotted deer to a Bodhi-tree, with the Bodhimaṇḍa, or Throne of the Buddha, placed beneath it[1].

Trained young deer stands the test in ruses.

In the absence of a canopy or parasol standing as a distinctive artistic symbol for a Bodhimaṇḍa connected with Buddha Gautama or an express reference to it as a Bodhimaṇḍa in the inscription, one must take it to be an ordinary woodland shrine. We do not quite appreciate why stress should be laid on the reverential attitude of the deer. To make out the story, we should rather notice how the woodland-shrine presents on its two sides two different situations, where three spotted deer (chitramṛiga) appear as the actors. In the situation to the left, we see three deer, standing side by side, before the chaitya. The one standing in the middle is a stag or grown up male deer, with antlers nicely curved in front. The one standing on his right side is a young deer

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 102.

without antlers. The third one on his left side can be easily marked out as a hind or grown up doe. The stage in the middle stands, with his masterful personality, gracefully stretching out his body on his forelegs, while the forepart of his body, together with his neck, artfully bent upward enabling him to place his mouth on his back. The scene to the right clearly shows that now the young deer has become grown up with antlers, peculiar to the male species. He is either crouching on his four legs. or lying down, at full length, on one side, bending his neck backward making his mouth touch his outstretched back. and straightening out his tail, his total posture being one of stiffness. It is clear that he is trying to manipulate or reproduce, in a different form the artful posture displayed by the senior stag, who, also in this scene, stands in the middle, gravely watching the situation. The female deer, too, reappears on his right side, standing a little behind him, and looking out over his back. If our study of these details be correct, here we have undoubtedly a sculptural representation of Buddhist Birth-story, the Tipallatthamiga-Jātaka (F. 16), which relates how a hind entrusted her son to the care of her brother, asking him to teach her son the ruses or tricks of deer (miga-māyā), and became happy that her boy stood the test. Thus this story illustrates the beneficent effect of mindfulness and disciplined habit on the part of an intelligent pupil receiving training from an expert teacher with fatherly affection, in contrast to another story in the Kharādiya-Jātaka (F. 15), which brings out evil effects of the unruly conduct and heedlessness on the part of a pupil under training.

The Bodhisat was then born, says the Jātaka, as a stag, who lived in the forest at the head of the herd of deer. His sister left her son in his care for training in ruses. Following instructions of his teacher and uncle, her son, the young stag soon mastered the ruses. Now came the trial. One day, while ranging the woods, he was caught in a snare. The herd hearing his plaintive cry, fled away in fear to inform his mother of his capture. Anxiously she came to her brother, who assured her of her son's dexterity and safe return :—

"In all three postures—on his back or sides—
Your son is versed ; he is trained to use eight hoofs—
And save at midnight never slakes his thirst ;
And he lies couched on earth, he lifeless seems,
And only with his under-nostril breathes.
Six tricks my nephew knows to cheat his foes."

The clever young stag lay down at full length on his side, with his legs stretched out taut and rigid, in short, successfully tried the sixth trick. The hunter came to the spot. Thinking the young stag was exhausted and powerless to escape, he released him from his bonds, and leaving him there, went to see his way to making a fire to roast him. The young captive seizing the opportunity rose to his feet, shook himself, stretched out his neck, and quickly came back to his mother to her great joy.

In the light of this story, the two situations can be explained as one being that of training of the young stag and the other that of his trial, both hallowed by the mother's solicitation for her son's welfare. The ruse displayed by him in the second situation is certainly the sixth trick enabling him to appear as if he was dead already.

5. Pl. XLVI [Scene 90] :—This scene survives only in a small fragment, presenting the front view of a high-mettled and caparisoned horse which stands lifting up his left foreleg. From the attitude of the horse it is clear that he has been made to halt on arrival at a certain place. Though the other details are missing, it seems probable that the scene is no other than that of the Bhojājānīya-Jātaka (F. 23), and that it bore, when it was complete, a label containing the above title.[1] The Jātaka relates :—

The noble charger, though wounded, enables the Knight to break down all the enemies' camps and return victorious to the king's gate.

The Bodhisat was then born as a thoroughbred Sindh horse, and was made the royal charger by the king of Benares. Once the city of Benares was encompassed by seven hostile kings. The Knight who was commanded to go alone to fight them wanted the king's charger. His desire being readily granted, he led out the noble charger, sheathed in mail, arming himself cap-ā-pie and girding on his sword. Mounted on this noble steed, he passed out of the city-gate, and with a lightning charge broke down six camps, one after another, taking six kings captives. In breaking down the sixth camp the horse was wounded, and was made to lie down at the king's gate. The Knight set about arming another horse, when the Bodhisat opened his eyes and saw what the Knight was doing. He called the Knight, and asked him to set him upon his feet arming him again in proof. The Knight did what he was told. Mounted again on the noble charger, he destroyed the seventh camp, carrying alive the seventh king as captive. The Bodhisat was led back to the king's gate. The king came out to look upon him. The noble being exhorted

[1] Barua Sinha, No. 191.

the king to let off the seven captive kings after binding them by an oath, and passed away as the mail was being taken off piecemeal.

6. Pl. XXVII. 11 [Scene 91] :—Haṁsa-Jātaka.[1]
"The Bodhisat's birth as a Mallard."

Peacock's shameless dance.

This scene, which was evidently sculptured in one of the Coping-panels, survives in a fragment retaining the greater portion of the upper part of the original.[2] The inscription which, too, fortunately survives, lead us to observe in it the Bodhisat's watchfulness in one of his Haṁsa-births. The fragment shows on the right a peacock with his outspread tail and upraised head, who appears in the glory of his plumage and is being watched by the gentle Haṁsa standing on the left. They are standing on a bare rocky height situated close by a lake or water-pool with lotuses, adding much to the loveliness and serenity of the place. The literary counterpart of the illustration has been traced by Cunningham in the Nachcha-Jātaka (F. 32), which we sum up below :—

The Bodhisat was then born as a Survarṇa-haṁsa, the Golden Mallard, chosen as the king of birds. He had a lovely young daughter whom he granted the right to choose her husband. Desiring to settle her marriage, he invited all the birds to assemble together in the Himalayan country. All species of birds came, swans, peacocks, and the rest. They flocked together on a great plateau of bare rock. The princess duly came out to choose a husband after her liking. Her choice naturally fell upon the peacock who outshone other birds with his neck of jewelled sheen and tail of varied hue. On this being communicated to him, the peacock began to dance with joy, in defiance of all rules of decency,in the open assembly, outspreading his wings ; in dancing he exposed himself. Seeing the fellow was devoid of modesty within and decorum without, King Golden Mallard, gave his daughter to a young mallard, who was a nephew of his.

The Haṁsa watching the peacock shamelessly dancing in the bas-relief, must be the Bodhisat, King Golden Mallard.

The bull compels the merchant to pay his wages.

7. Pl. INDIAN MUSEUM. 60 [Scene 92] :—In this scene, carved in a Coping-panel, a mighty bull with large and well-shaped horns is seen defiantly crouching on the ground behind a man who stands, catching hold of the left side of his waist with his left hand and pointing at the action of the bull with his outstretched right hand, his forefingers

1 Barua Sinha, No. 193.
2 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 69.

touching the top of a tall shrubby plant. The forepart of the bull's body being broken and considerably damaged, it is difficult to ascertain if anything was tied round his neck or horns. But it seems likely that the subject is a story similar to that of the Kanha-Jātaka (F. 29) which is summarised below.

The Bodhisat then came to life as a bull. A poor old woman reared him like her own child. He was a jet-black and was known by the name of Granny's Blackie. He was always looking out for a job to help his mother. A young caravan merchant badly needed the service of a strong bull for pulling five hundred heavy-laden carts across a ford. His eye fell on Granny's Blackie. He enquired about his owner and was told that he had got no master. But he would not budge till his pay was fixed. The merchant promised to pay one thousand coins in all. He did his duty manfully and well. The merchant tied round his neck a bundle of five hundred coins only, i.e., just half of the stipulated amount. He would not let him move on. He stood across the path of the caravan and blocked the way. Try as they would, they could not get him out of the way. "I suppose he knows I've paid him short," thought the merchant. He tied the bundle of a thousand coins round his neck, and away he went with these pieces of money to his mother. The blockade caused by the bull and the merchant's thought that it seem to form the subject of Barhut illustration.

Quails quarrelling are caught in the fowler's net.

8. Pl. XXVII 15 [Scene 93] :—This is a small fragment of a medallion-carving, presenting a flock of birds, looking like quails. Five of these birds in a flying attitude are placed in one direction, their bodily motion indicating that they are preparing themselves to fly in a body, carrying snares or nets under their feet. Another quail, apparently of a larger species, stands in the opposite direction without any attempt for flying. This bird is seen standing on a rod of the snare or net, one end of which is caught hold of by a human hand. It is very likely that this bas-relief was intended to illustrate a scene from the story of the Fowler and the Birds, of which the Buddhist version is contained in the Sammodamāna-Jātaka (F. 33.). The Pañchatantra or the Hitopadeśa version describes the birds as pigeons.

According to the Buddhist version, the Bodhisat was then born as a quail who lived in a forest with a large number of followers. So long as they lived in concord and acted with united resolve, obeying their leader, they were able to frustrate the repeated attempts of a fowler to catch them. One day, one of the quails, in alighting on their feeding ground, trod by accident on the head of another. He asked the other not to be angry, saying that he did it unintentionally. But the other

remained as angry as before. They fell quarrelling with each other. Some of their comrades also took part in their quarrel and some remained neutral. The Bodhisat tried to pacify them. Seeing it was a hopeless business, he went away with those who liked to follow him. A few days later, the fowler came. He imitated the quail's cry as a device to collect them and cast his net over them. They could have easily saved themselves, if they in a body flew up with the net. But instead of doing so, they were asking one another to lift it away. Thus they lost their time. They did not lift 'up the net.' The fowler got the time to lift the same for them and bag them all.

9. Pl. XLV. 7 [Scene 94] :—A pair of birds are the only actors in this scene and these, as Cunningham makes out, look like doves, sitting on two different walls and conversing, there being between them the round gable end of a house, to the right of which is a lower house, with a door in the outer wall, and in the background a row of houses with a second round gable end.[1]

Greedy crow perishes acting contrary to the counsel of its friend, the wise pigeon.

We fail to understand how the birds look like doves. So far as we can make out, the bird perching on a log attached to the side wall of the lower house noticed by Cunningham is a big pigeon, and the second bird standing in a basket hung up from the roof against the side wall of another house is distinctly a crow. This distinction in the representation of the two birds has enabled Professor Rhys Davids and other scholars to identify the scene with the Kapota-Jātaka (F. 42) three other versions of which are entitled Lola-Jātaka (F. 274), Kapota-Jātaka (F. 375), and Kāka-Jātaka (F. 395). This Jātaka illustrates by the story of the Pigeon and the Crow the moral that a headstrong person acting contrary to the kindly counsel of a friend perishes altogether.

The Bodhisat was, says the Jātaka, born a pigeon. The cook of a rich man hang up, as an act of piety, a straw basket in the kitchen. A greedy crow made friendship with the Bodhisat. He wanted to taste the delicacy of the dishes of meat and fish prepared by the cook. The pigeon warning him not to fall a prey to greed flew away to find his daily food. The cook went outside the door of the kitchen to wipe the sweat of his brow, putting a colander on the top of the sauce-pan containing a dish of fish. The crow thinking the time was opportune, entered the kitchen and alighted on the colander with a desire to carry off a large piece of fish. But 'click' went the colander, the cook ran inside. and seeing the crow meant a

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 103.

mischief, caught hold of him, and rudely torturing him, flang him back into the nest-basket where he lay groaning till his friend, the wise pigeon, came back in the evening to see him die a painful death.

10. Pl. XLV. 5 [Scene 95] :—This bas-relief occupies one of the small Coping-panels, presenting, as observed by Cunningham, a man and two monkeys in the midst of a forest, one of the monkeys carrying away a pair of water vessels slung from the ends of banghi pole, the other monkey sitting on the ground, holding some indistinct object, perhaps like a net, is his hands in front of the man who is standing and apparently addressing him.[1]

Bodhisat remonstrates with monkeys destroying pleasaunce.

We cannot dispute that the scene is that of a forest or a park, which is here represented by five clearly visible young trees grown in a row. The carrying of water-vessels by one of the monkeys shows that he is busy watering the plants. The other monkey, seated on the ground in the middle holds up in his hands an uprooted plant, the roots and branches of which can clearly be seen. He is sitting before the man on the left, the experience of whose gate indicates that he has just arrived on the spot to take the monkeys to task for some mischief done by them. The monkey in the middle is explaining the matter to him. These details go to show that the scene is invaritably that of the story of the Ārāmadūsaka-Jātaka, of which there are two verisons (F. 46 & 268).[2]

The Birth-story relates that the Bodhisat was at the time a citizen of Benares. The gardener in charge of a royal park went to enjoy a holiday leaving it in the custody of the monkeys who dwelt there enjoying the benefits of the pleasaunce—the flowers, fruits, and young shoots. The monkeys, as requested, began to water the growing trees with the water-skins and wooden watering pots which the gardener entrusted to them. Being anxious to prevent the waste of water, their chief commanded to pluck up each young tree to examine the size of its roots. They did their chief's bidding. At their juncture, the Bodhisat happened to be in the park to see what they were doing. "What are you about" he said, charging the monkeys, "Why are you uprooting these plants in watering them ?" The monkeys tried to explain that they were not to blame for they did what they were asked to do by their chief. The Bodhisat rebuked them for their thoughtlessness, though, as he then reflected, their concerted action bore this golden lesson that the ignorant and foolish, with their best intention, succeed only in doing harm.

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 107.

2 Identified by T. W. Rhys Davids.

The man standing in the scene in dignified manner and reproaching the monkeys, is certainly the Bodhisat of the Birth-story.

11. Pl. XXX. 8 [Scene 95a] :—Yaṁ-bramhano-avāyesi-Jātakaṁ[1].

"The Jātaka (with the verse)—As the Brahmin played."

The sides of this medallion-carving are cut away, leaving only the middle portion with the above inscription, The scene of action is evidently laid in an inner apartment of the Brahmin's private residence [2], which is here represented as a two-storeyed mansion of the usual Barhut style. The mansion is indicative of its owner's high social or official position. The Brahmin of the inscription is seated to the left on a high morhā, resting his two feet evenly on a cubical footstool in front and holding out a harp with his hands, held up below his chin. He is blindfolded with a piece of cloth. A youthful woman, richly dressed, stands before him, slightly kneeling forward and stretching forth her right hand and holding the same before him as if asking him to feel it, while a much stronger hand with a closed fist is raised from her behind, ready to deal a blow on the left face of the Brahmin, turned towards it. The attitude of the Brahmin's face clearly shows that the blow dealt is far other than what was expected from the tender hand of a woman, particularly from one who was so youthful and beloved a wife. The same woman is shown in another position behind, and that in a dancing attitude. Between her two positions are shown one hand and one leg, much bigger than those of hers, and these seem to indicate the presence of a second man concealed behind her. It is apparent that she danced and her husband played upon the harp and after dancing for a while, she, under the pretence of expressing her fondness, played a womanly trick, creating an opportunity for a wicked man in intrigue to practise a strangely fatal practical joke. Cunningham has rightly identified the scene with the story of the Aṇḍabhūta-Jātaka (F. 62), narrating how a Brahmin chaplain failed to prevent his youthful wife doing mischief, though she was brought up in strict seclusion from her very birth. It relates :—

Scene of the Birth-story in which a Brahmin chaplain is said to have failed to protect his youthful wife, bringing her up in strict seclusion from her very birth.

The Bodhisat was then the intelligent king of Benares. He used to play at dice with his Brahmin chaplain. In making the throw he chanted a verse harping on the depravity of woman's nature, working iniquity when there was an opportunity, as a catch for luck, and each time won the game by its power. The chaplain

1 Barua Sinha No. 193.

2 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 66.

desiring to make out an exception and use it as a counter catch, married a young girl after bringing her up in strict seclusion, since he secured her while she was in her mother's womb (aṇḍabhūta). She was shut up in the inner apartment of an isolated and well-guarded seven-storeyed mansion. Confident of her unsullied purity and unparalleled virtue, he challenged the king to a fresh game. The king, as usual, sang the catch on throwing the dice. The Brahmin pointed out the exception with referencs to his wife and this time won the game. The king employed a clever rogue to try his skill as a scamp. He got hold of the old woman who daily suppplied flowers in the Brahmin's house and had a free access into the inner apartment, and through her instrumentality he came to be known to the Brahmin's wife and smuggled at last into his house. A day or two passed, before he left her company, he desired to make an impression on the Brahmin as a proof of the strange happening in his house. He wanted to cuff the innocent Brahmin. "I shall see it done", said she, and he remained hiding himself and waiting for the opportunity. When the Brahmin came home, she said, she would like to dance, if he would play the lute for her. He agreed, "But I must hide your handsome face first with a cloth and then I will dance". "All right, if you're too modest to dance otherwise". After dancing awhile, she desired to hit him once on his head. "Hit away", said the unsuspecting dotard. Then she made a sign to the man in intrigue and he softly stole up behind the Brahmin and smote him on the head, causing his eyes almost to start out. "Give me your hand, my dear girl", said he, smarting with pain. She placed it in his, asking if it was not soft." "Ah! it is a soft hand, but it hits hard!" Now the king proposed a game with the dice. As he made the throw, he sang his old catch and the Brahmin pointed out his wife as an exception, still fondly believing that she was a paragon of virtue. But lo! the Brahmin lost the game and knew not why. The king reminded him of blindfolding and smiting by a soft hand and then he understood what the matter was.

12. Pl. XLV. 9 [Scene 96] :—Chitupāda-sila.[1]

"The gambler fond of the square-board game,"

The sharper's sad plight in playing tricks.

This label is inscribed above the bas-relief representing the scene which, according to Cunningham, shows two parties of two men, each seated on a broad-faced rock, and playing at some game like draughts. He notices on the surface of the rock a square space divided into 36 small squares, beside which there are several small square pieces,

1 Barua Sinha, No. 194.

with marks on the top, evidently used in playing the game. He further observes how the rock has suddenly split between the two parties, and the two men on the right side are sinking downwards with the smaller half of the rock, which is already in a very slanting position. He thinks the Chetiya-Jātaka (F. 422) narrating how King Chetiya, for having told a lie and persisted in the untruth, went alive to hell, the earth opening to embosom him, illustrates the chief point in the Barhut scene.[1]

We cannot quite agree with Cunningham in thinking the game was played between two parties of two men. It seems more likely that each party consisted of one man on each side, shown, of course, in two different positions and attitudes. Counting the smaller pieces beside the game-board, we find that there are just six, one of which is shown separately and placed before the man on the left side, sitting cross-legged and pointing at the piece with the forefinger of his right hand.

The same man is shown behind with a threatening attitude as indicated by the movement of the uplifted forefinger of his right hand. The man on the right side, as shown in one position, kneels before the other man on the opposite side, with his joined hands, stretched out in front. The same man in another position is seated, holding something in his right hand and looking towards the other man. The dignified appearance of the man on the left at once marks him out as Bodhisat. The square board with 36 squares appears to have been formed by incising the surface of the stone-slab. There is to be seen near the man to the left a box, evidently used for putting in the small pieces. A tree stands behind the party seated on the right side. The splitting of the rock need not be taken to symbolise the opening of the earth referred to in the Chetiya-Jātaka. This Birth-story tells us nothing about the playing of any game. The apparent splitting of the rock can as well be explained as a result of certain dislocation of two separate stone-pieces joined together to form the complete board. The dislocation may have been due to some accident befalling the man on the right, who seems to be in some sort of danger. We mean that what Cunningham interprets as a case of splitting is really a case of overriding of one slab upon the other, due to sudden pressure of weight and loss of balance. The sculptor seems to be anxious to indicate not only that the two slabs being placed face to face, in confrontation, completed the square board with spaces for the players to sit but that these were set upon some small pieces of stone, several of which are distinctly shown below the slab to the left, and on the right side of the piece on the right. If this canjecture be allowed, we may proceed, as

directed by Hoernle, to look for a story representing the Bodhisat as a player of games. There is only one Birth-story which specifically represents the Bodhisat as a professional dice-player. It is the Litta-Jātaka (F. 91).

It is said that the Bodhisat in one of his births, became a professional dice-player. With him used to play a sharper (Kūṭakkhadhutta) who kept on playing while he was winning and when there were chances of defeat, broke up the game (kelimaṇḍalaṁ bhindi) by putting one of the dice in his mouth and pretending it was lost. But the Bodhisat was a good match for him. He took some dice, anointed them at home with poison, dried them carefully, and used them when playing another day with the sharper, challenged to a game. The dice-board was got ready and play began. As the sharper began to lose, he popped one of the dice into his mouth, not knowing what it was. "Swallow away, my dear fellow !" the Bodhisat sternly remarked, "you will soon find out what it really is, what burning poison lurks unseen." Hardly the Bodhisat had finished his remarks, the man grew faint, rolled his eyes, and bending double with pain fell to the ground. But the Bodhisat must not let him die, a rascal though he was. He saved him by an emetic. Then he exhorted him not to play such tricks again.

The Birth-story certainly explains many details of the scene, though the game played seems to have been other than dice. The Bodhisat represented in one attitude may be understood as making up his mind to teach the sharper a lesson, and in the second attitude, as giving exhortation to which the other man is listening eagerly.

13. Pl. XLVII. 9. [Scene 97] :—Asaḍā vadhu susāne sigāla ñati.[1]
"Woman Āshāḍhā, jackals on the funeral ground, her kinsman."

Lovers are at last brought together in a jackal-haunted charnel-grove.

The scene, as may be expected, presents a funeral ground, literally a ground for the lying in of corpses, where the youthful aud intelligent woman Āshāḍhā is seen hurriedly climbing up a large tree to the right, chased by a pack of three jackals from the foot of a smaller tree to the left, while a man is lying at full length on the ground, pretending to be dead, with his head towards the smaller tree and feet touching the larger one. His head rests on the palm of his left hand. The woman holds herself tight between two branches on the right, leaning forward her body and watching the approaching jackals below. It is a narrow escape on her part, for the space between the upraised mouth of the forward jackal and her left knee is hardly a

1 Barua Sinha, No. 195.

hair-breadth.[1] These details may be explained by a story similar to that of the Asilakkhaṇa-Jātaka (F. 126). The relevant portion of the Jātaka is narrated below :—

King Brahmadatta of Benares had no son, only a daughter and a nephew (sister's son) who were brought up together under his own eye. As they grew up, they loved each other. The nephew was heir to the throne. The king thought at first of giving him his daughter to wife ; later on he changed his mind, and ordered them to dwell apart, desiring to separate the two. Their love grew intense. The young prince wishing to take away the princess from her father's place, got hold of a wise woman, who promised him success. She went and told the king that as his daughter was under the influence of Kālakarṇī, in possession of a Black-omen, she would take her, under a strong armed escort, to the corpse's lying-in-ground, where in a magic circle she would lay her on a bed with a dead man under it, and wash the evil out of her. On this pretext she brought her to the cemetery-grove (susānavana), where the prince, as pre-arranged, lay down as though dead within the magic circle, taking some ground pepper with him. The crony woman led the princess off and laid her upon the bed, whispering to her not to be afraid if she really wished to meet the prince she loved. At once the prince snuffed at the pepper and sneezed. The old woman fled away in fear, leaving the princess. Not a man stood his ground, one and all bolted for dear life. Now the prince got up and triumphantly brought her to his home. When the wise king, the Bodhisat heard the news, he did not mind it, as he always intended them to be man and wife.

The details of the Barhut story[3] can be consistently made out thus : When the princess was brought into the charnel-grove, the jackals haunting the place rushed forth, when the old woman screaming out that demons were coming, fled away, and ran off all who came with the princess, leaving her alone on the spot, who, in her helplessness. climbed the tree, and the prince feigning to be dead, taking the opportunity, rose up and came to her rescue.

---

1 Cf. Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 36 : "In the foreground a man is lying down apparently either dead or asleep, and quite unnoticed by three jackals who are watching a female sitting in a tree, to which she is clinging with both hands. The man lying on the ground is probably a corpse."

2 Cf. Sigāla-Jātaka (F. 142), where a clever rogue lies down as if dead in a charnel-grove, club in hand, meaning to kill a jackal prowling about to eat the corpses, but is outwitted by a pack of jackals under the Bodhisat, their expert leader.

3 Cunningham suggests that the story agrees pretty closely with Rāma, the king of Benares and the Princess Priyā, the eldest sister of four Sākya brothers who founded Kapilavāstu. See Hardy's Manual of Buddhism, pp. 266-271.

14. Pl. Indian Museum. 114. Two Fragments Of A Coping Panel In Cunningham's Original Photograph [Scene 98] :—

Jaṭila-sabhā.[1]

"Matted-hair ascetics' dwelling-hall."

In spite of the Bodhisat's warning, one ascetic keeps an elephant only to be trampled to death.

Regarding one of the two fragments, preserved in the Indian Museum, Cunningham observes that the quoted label is incised above a Coping-panel which is badly broken, leaving the only portion where one can see a tree with rocks, and half of the head and upper part of the body of a man. He believes that the original scene represented the Assembly of the Jaṭilas, who were the followers of Uruvilva-Kāśyapa. This Kāśyapa and his two brothers were fire-worshippers, and as such they are represented in the Sanchi and Gandhāra sculptures. The Barhut sculpture must have contained a still earlier representation of the Assembly of the Jaṭila fire-worshippers.[2]

Examining Cunningham's original photographs of several fragments of the Coping we discover two which serve to complete the Barhut scene with the label—Jaṭila-sabhā. The scene presents the view of a rocky mountain where a growing tree can be seen in the left, a cave-dwelling in the middle and a standing elephant in the right. A matted-hair ascetic is seated cross-legged inside the cave-dwelling which is approached by an elephant on the right, while some blazing fire-altars can be seen on the open ground below the elephant. We are aware that the Buddhist legends introduce us to a scene of the meeting of Uruvilva-Kāśyapa and the Buddha, resulting in the conversion of the former, followed by the conversion of his two brothers. These legends record that there were three separate colonies or bands of the Jaṭilas who settled in three places of the Gayā District, under three Kaśyapa leaders. They were, like the Vedic Keśis and the Ṛishis of the Vānaprastha order, wearers of matted hair and worshippers of fire. They neither lived alone nor kept to a family life in the forest. They developed a sort of corporate life under a distinct leadership. They formed, nevertheless, a sect of Vedic ascetics, worshipping fire and performing sacrificial rites. They stood for the ideal of external purity, and strove for supernatural powers and mystical experiences. The Jaṭilas of the Barhut scene seem to answer to this class of Vedic ascetics. But we find no cogent reason to connect the scene with a legend of the Buddha's present life. Had it been intended to represent the story of conversion of the Kāśyapa brothers and their followers, we

1 Barua Sinha, No. 160. See also Addenda & Corrigenda.

2 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 93-94.

might have noticed the presence of the Buddha indicated by some appropriate symbol. There is no such symbol. Further, the Buddhist story of the conversion of the Kāśyapa brothers cannot explain why the cave-dwelling is approached by an elephant. The scene is evidenily intended to illustrate a Birth-story, and this story is perhaps no other than that of the Indasamānagotta-Jātaka (F. 161), or that of the Mittāmitta-Jātaka (F. 197), in which one ascetic is said to have kept a pet elephant only to be trampled to death, in spite of the Bodhisat's warning. The story relates :—

The Bodhisat then lived as an ascetic in the Himalayan region, with a company of five hundred ascetics, of whom he was the leader. One of his followers had a pet elephant. When the teacher had found this out, he sent for the ascetic, and advised him not to keep the young elephant any longer. But he would still rear the anima!, and did so till it grew to an immense size. Once the ascetics had all gone far afield to gather roots and fruits in the forest, absenting themselves from their dwelling-place for several days. In the meantime the elephant fell in a frenzy at the first breath of the south wind. He forthwith proceeded to destroy this hut, smash this water-jar, overturn this stone-bench, and tear up this pallet. Not satisfied with this, he sped into the jungle, where he waited watching for the return of the ascetic who reared him up. The ascetic came first, carrying food for his pet. As the elephant saw him coming, he rushed from the jungle, seized him in his trunk, dashed him to the ground, and crushing the life out of him, scampered into the forest madly trumpeting. When the other ascetics had brought this news to the Bodhisat, he exhorted them by the sad fate of the elephant-keeper to be obedient and not obstinate, and to be clever enough to be able to distinguish a friend from a foe.

15. Pl. XLVI. 8.—Sechha-Jātaka.[1] [Scene 99]

"The Jataka-episode of water-drawing."

The heading is inscribed above the bas-relief where Cunningham observes four actors, two man and two monkeys. The monkey standing in a tree is being addressed, he says, by one of the men who carries a pair of water vessels on a pole, while the other monkey who is standing on the ground is receiving in his hands a drink of water poured from the vessel by the other man. Seeing that the right shoulders of both the men are bare and their heads are unshaved, he is led to think that they are monks.[2]

The kind-hearted Brahmin draws water for a thirsty monkey only to get grimace and insult in return.

1 Barua Sinha, No. 196. 2 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 76.

What we actually see is a scene of two actors, a man and a monkey, placed in two different situations. In the first situation, shown on the left, a thirsty monkey standing on the ground is having, with the help of his two hands a drink of water poured out in streams from a water-jug, taken out of the net-frame of hanger-cords and held up at a height by the man who stands to the left. The hair of the man's head is certainly all shaven except a tuft or lock which is clearly visible on the crown. He appears in a simple dress without any ornaments. In the second situation, the same monkey stands on an outgoing branch of a tree, beside another tree with a similar foliage to the right. He stands on all-fours, like a cat, making a peculiar gesture of his face and gazing at the man carrying, beneath the tree, two water-vessels on a wooden pole, placed on his left shoulder. The man seems to reproach the monkey with his frowning eyes and upraising the fore-finger of his right hand. The scene thus depicted has rightly been identified by Professor Rhys Davids and others with the story of the Dūbhiya-Makkaṭa-Jātaka (F. 174), illustrating how a compassionate Brahmin drew water from a well for a thirsty monkey only to receive grimace and insult in return.

The Bodhisat, says the Jātaka, was, in one of his births, a Brahmin inhabitant of a place in Kāśī. One day, in going on some errand along a high way, he came to a place, having a deep well, adjoining a big forest, where troops of monkeys dwelt. There being no other source of water than this well in the neighbourhood, people believed it to be an act of merit to fill a trough with water drawn therefrom for the denizens of the forest. When the tender-hearted Brahmin came to the spot, he saw a thirsty monkey walking up and down by the well, looking for water. He drew water from the well by means of a long rope and a bucket, and filled the trough out of compassion for the monkey. He sat down under a tree, to see what the creature would do. The monkey after drinking water to his heart's content, sat down upon a branch of this tree just above the head of the Brahmin making faces to frighten his benefactor. "Ah, thou rascally beast!" the Brahmin said, reproaching the monkey, "is this the return of the service I have done thee?" "That's not all I can do", replied the monkey, "there is something more yet to be done." The Brahmin thought it was already more than enough, but the monkey was clever enough to spoil his purity and go away shrieking.

This is the only instance where a Brahmin of the time is distinctly represented. The well and the trough mentioned in the Jātaka are not depicted.

16. Pls. Two Coping Panels. [Scene 100] :—The first of these two broken panels presents in the middle of its upper part, an arched doorway with

hood-mouldings, before which two royal personages are seriously conversing with each other, the one on the left sitting cross-legged, and the other on the right remaining at a respectful distance and probably standing. The same two men reappear in the second panel where one of them, standing under a tall mango-tree, manfully twangs his bow to discharge an arrow, apparently aiming at the tree-top. There is a second mango-tree with hanging bunches of fruits to the right of the one under which he takes his stand. The archer stands behind the other man who leans forward over something which is broken off. Cunningham rightly suggests[1] that here we have a clear representation of the story of the Asadisa-Jātaka (F. 181), another version of which is narrated very briefly in the Śarakshepaṇa-Jātaka of the Mahāvastu.[2] The details of the scenes can be rendered intelligible by the following narration :—

Prince Peerless is brought into the presence of a king, who gets him into his service. He justifies the royal favour by his feat of archery.

King Brahmadatta of Benares had two sons, Prince Asadṛiśa and Prince Brahmadatta. Prince Asadṛiśa was peerless in the science of archery. After the king's death the elder prince offered the throne to the younger and chose to live as heir-apparent. But his younger brother took him to be a rebel, and would have imprisoned him. Without any resentment he went away into another country. Arriving at the gate of a city he sent in word to the king that an archer was come and awaited. He was brought into the king's presence, and stood waiting. "Are you the archer ?" asked the king. "Yes, Sire," he replied. "The wages you ask, I am told, are a hundred thousand a year." "Yes, Sire". "Very well, I take you into my service." "Too much", the old archers grumbled. One day the king went into his park, accompanied by his archers. There at the foot of a mango-tree he lay reclined upon a couch. Right at the tree-top he saw a cluster of mango-fruits, and asked his archers if they could cut it off with an arrow and bring it down for him. They desired that the new-comer should try. The king asked Peerless if he could do it. Oh yes, your Majesty, if I take my stand where your couch stands". The king had the couch removed to give him place. He doffed the white cloth which he wore over all, and put on a red cloth next his skin ; then he fastened his girdle, and donned a red waist-cloth. From bag he took out a sword in pieces, which he put together and girt on his left side. Next he put on a mailcoat of gold, fastened his bow-case over his back, and took out his ramshorn bow, made in several pieces, which he firted together, fixed the bowstring, red as coral ; put a turban on his head." He took his place where

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 70-71.

2 Mahāvastu II. pp. 82-13.

the couch stood, arrow set to bow. He let off the first arrow which went up, piercing the exact centre of the mango-stalk on its way into the sky. Then he discharged another arrow which flew higher up, striking the feather of the first arrow and turning it back. The sound of the falling arrow as it cleft the air was like a thunder-clap, frightening all the bystanders. Down came the arrow, neatly cutting through the stalk of the mango-cluster. The archer caught the arrow in one hand and the fruits in the other, without letting them fall on the ground. All praised him for this marvellous feat. The king and his courtiers showered gifts and honours like rain.

The Barhut sculptor appears to have illustrated a simpler story than one in the Jātaka-Commentary.

The king makes a triumphal entry into the conquered city.

17. Pl. XXXII. 4. [Scene 101] **:**—In this medallion we see a caparisoned state elephant cautiously walking ahead on a bridge over a ditch, carrying a Jayadhvaja in his trunk. The Jayadhvaja consists of a shield of garlands, suspended from the bent top of a wooden post. The driver, putting on a coat, is mounted on his back, holding a goad in his left hand, and a standard of garlands in his right. Another man similarly dressed, probably the king himself, is seated behind the driver, holding with his left hand the rope that is tied round the elephant's body, and holding up with his right the standard consisting of a flag, suspended from a wooden post, crowned by a Triratna symbol. The state elephant is followed by a smaller elephant carrying a driver who appears to be the royal umbrella bearer. The representation is evidently a scene of triumphal entry of a king into a conquered city, and if this supposition is correct, the scene may satisfactorily be identified with the Saṅgāmā-vachara-Jātaka (F. 182), narrating how a well-trained state elephant obeyed the word of command. We read :—

The Bodhisat was then an expert elephant-trainer in the service of a king who bore hostility to the king of Benares. He trained the state elephant of this king to perfection. This king being determined to capture the city of Benares, mounted on his state elephant and led a mighty host against Benares, and laying siege to the city, challenged its king by a letter, asking him to fight or yield. The king chose to fight, and resisted the enemy, guarding the walls and gates, the towers and battlements with a great host. The hostile king drove his armed state elephant towards the city, being clad himself in armour and taking a sharp goad in his hand. But at the sight of the strong defence set up by the king of the city, the elephant did not venture to come near the place. Thereupon the trainer himself came up, and urged

the elephant to have courage to tear up the pillars, beat against the gateway, and break down the bars. He did what he was told, and thereby forced his way through and entered the city, winning it for the king.

18. Pl. Indian Museum. 9 (26) B [Scene 22 (g)] :—

Bibikānadikaṭa-Suladhasa Asavārikasa dānaṁ.[1]
"The gift (of a Scene of Trooper) by the trooper
Sulabdha of Bimbikāradikaṭa."

The Scene of Trooper, referred to in the accompanying Votive label, occupies a half-medallion in the upper portion of a Railing pillar, where we see a good-looking horse, beautifully harnessed in the usual Barhut fashion. The attitude of the horse's back part shows that he is flying through the air, carrying a man, who hangs on one side of his tail, and swings to and fro, his waist tied, as it were, to the tail's root, holding with his left hand an arrow-shaped object with its head pointed to the sky, and extending his right hand towards the outer end of the slantingly outstretched tail. On the other hand, the attitude of the horse's forepart indicates that he has halted on the ground, as though restrained by a man, who stands in front, keeping the reins before him, and holding them with his hands, kept wide apart. If this represents a Jātaka-scene at all, there can be little doubt that it presupposes a Buddhist tale similar to the story of Flying Horse, of which two versions are now extant, one in the Pali Valāhassa-Jātaka (F. 96) and one in the Divyāvadāna-story of Supriya. In the Pāli version the horse is described as white all over, beaked like a crow, with hair-like muñja grass, possessed of supernatural power, gifted with the power of human speech, who flew through the air from Himālaya to an island in or to the south of India, safely conveying, as an act of mercy, distressed persons wanting to go home. The Supriya-story in the Divyāvadāna (pp. 120-121) describes the horse as the very king of his kind, happy, healthy, strong, with the senses fully developed, and capable of uttering human speech to the top of his voice, raising the forepart of his body, who volunteered to do service to mankind on the Sabbath. In the Pali version the horse himself is the Bodhisat the merciful hero ; in the Avadāna version the hero is Supriya, the head of the merchants. In the former the horse safely conveys home two hundred and fifty shipwrecked merchants, including their head, from a goblin city ; in the latter he conveys only the head merchant. In the former some of the passengers mount on his back, and some hold by his tail ; in the latter the passenger is asked to sit on his back, closing his eyes.

The flying horse carries a merchant.

In the Barhut scene the passenger hangs by the horse's tail. In respect of other details the illustration agrees with the Avadāna-story. The artist has represented the horse's gift of human speech by the human figure in front.

19. Pl. XLIV. 4. [Scene 102] :—In this bas-relief Cunningham notices two men, one standing and one seated, both of whom are holding an earnest conversation, to which a woman is listening from a circular hole or opening in the roof of an adjacent house, both speaking together and enforcing their arguments with their upraised forefingers. He takes the scene to be that of the story of Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa. This conjecture of his seems to be due to a misreading of the actions and attitudes of the men and the women. The bas-relief lays the scene of the story in a homestead, and creates a dramatic situation by a clever device. There are really not two dwelling houses but only one shown in two different positions. The homestead thus appears to have consisted of a long rectangular-shaped dwelling house covered with two roofs butting against each other and forming a graceful cone. Inside this house, and attached to it, there is another house with a circular opening, through which a woman is peeping out and calmly watching the embarrasing situation before her eyes. She is much concerned about the pitiful condition of a man thrown on the ground, kept bound within a spacious noose of folded pieces of cloth or ropes, which passes round his loins and upraised knees. With downcast eyes he is pleading his innocence by referring to the woman with the forefingers of his two hands directed towards her, before another man who found him inside the house. The second man, who is undoubtedly the owner of the house, stands, with his superior dignity and intelligence as a terror before the first man. He manfully stands with the upper part of his body leaning forward and resting on his right leg bent at right angles on his toes as is the case with a man walking up a high place with halting steps. The ring-shaped noose with which the trespasser was entrapped is held in his left hand, bent at right angles to rest on the front part of his body, while he is angrily asking the accused to explain his conduct threatening him with the forefinger of his upraised right hand. His dramatic entry and other details may be well understood in the light of the Gahapati-Jātaka (F. 199).

Bodhisat detects his wife's intrigue.

The Bodhisat was then born, says the Jātaka, as a householder's son in the kingdom of Kāśī. When grown up, he married and settled down. His wife was a wicked woman. She intrigued with the village headman. There broke out a famine in consequence of a flood that swept over the village. The villagers, including the Bodhisat, besought in a body the help of their headman, and got from him an old ox. They promised to pay its price in two months' time. Even nor half a month

had passed when, one day, the headman taking advantage of the absence of the Bodhisat, entered the latter's house. As bad luck would have it, the headman's prospects of happiness blighted soon into the fear of discomfiture. The Bodhisat returned in no time by the village gate, setting his face towards home. It was difficult for the headman to escape. He trembled in terror. The Bodhisat advanced so far as to reach the threshhold. The wilful woman had her plan ready. She climbed up into the granary, standing at the door of which she began to cry 'No corn here' ! while the headman standing in the middle of the room, called out insisting on payment of the price of the meat. The Bodhisat entered the house. He understood what they were about. He said to the headman :—

"I like not this, I like not that ; I like not her, I say,
Who stands beside the granary, and cries 'I cannot pay !'"
"Nor you, nor you, Sir ! listen now : my means and store are small ;
You gave me once a skinny cow, and two months' grace withal ;
Now, ere the day, you bid me pay ! I like it not at all."

Saying this, he caught hold of the trespasser, dragged him out into the courtyard, threw him down, and put him to disgrace, casting him ultimately out of his house. He also befittingly punished the woman and corrected her.

A woodpecker a tortoise and antelope from a hunter's trap.

20. Pl. XXVII. 9. [Scene 103] :—This medallion-carving on a Rail-bar presents in the middle a large tree growing in a thicket near a lake. Here the thicket is represented in the left half, to the left of the lake and the tree. The tree itself is shown in the upper part as growing by the side of the lake. A smaller tree is seen growing on the right, at some distance from the larger tree to the left. The thicket is a grassy woodland where a few isolated small plants can be seen. The surface of the triangular lake is ruffled with numerous small ripples, and several large fishes are moving about in the water. At the top of the larger tree and on its right side there is open and circular nest with a bird in it. A big antelope stands in the grassy woodland facing the larger tree. The right hind leg of the animal is tightly bound within the noose of the thong of a hunter's trap, carefully laid on the ground a little below to the left. The antelope, anxious to escape in fear of life, cries out and looks forward for help from the bird, and the bird in its nest is startled by the unusual cry of the antelope, and it is skilfully represented, in the first position, as eagerly listening to the cry to ascertain its meaning. In its second position we see that the bird, perching on a branch of the larger tree and coming nearer, is discussing some matters with the antelope. In a third position the bird appears in the lake below, in two places, as though looking

for and calling out some one there. Standing near the lower bank it fails to get any response. So it goes to the upper corner where a tortoise comes out, lifting its head above water. The bird is evidently conversing with the tortoise. While the tortoise has, in its second position, come up with its huge body and is busy gnawing the thong of the trap, the bird in its fourth position is seen again on the larger tree, perching in front of the antelope and turning its back upon the antelope's face. The same bird in its fifth or last position, is seen perching on the smaller tree, boldly facing the hunter who is advancing with a strong bow in the left hand and a bundle of arrows in his right. The bird must have gone there to prevent the hunter coming as a means of allowing the tortoise time enough to finish its task. Anyhow, the hunter seems to be much annoyed. Cunningham has correctly identified the scene with the story of the Kuruṅgamiga-Jātaka (F. 206), the leading features of which are here vividly represented.

The Bodhisat became an antelope, who lived within a forest, in a thicket near a certain lake. Not far from the same lake was a tree, at the top of which lived a woodpecker. In the lake itself dwelt a tortoise. These three became friends, and lived together in amity. A hunter set a strong trap of leather for the antelope. As he went down into the water to drink in the first watch of the night, he got caught in the noose. He cried loud and long. Hearing his plaintive cry, the woodpecker flew down from the tree-top, and the tortoise came out of the water, and consulted what was to be done. At the advice of the woodpecker, the tortoise began to gnaw thong, while the bird itself went to watch the hunter coming out of his dwelling. When at dawn of day the hunter came out, knife in hand, the bird, uttering a cry and flapping its wings, struck him in the face. Thinking this to be a bad omen, the hunter went in to wait till sunrise. In the meantime the woodpecker flew back to its friends. The tortoise had hardly finished gnawing through the thong when the hunter appeared on the spot. The antelope, seeing him coming, fled into the woods, the woodpecker flew away from the tree, while the tortoise, being tired, lay where it was. The hunter threw it into his bag, and tied it to a tree. The antelope, desiring to save his friend, appeared before the hunter, at some distance, pretending to be weak, too weak to run far off. The hunter began to pursue him, and the antelope, leading him into the forest, gave him the slip, and ran swift as the wind to rescue the tortoise. He lifted the bag with his horns and letting the tortoise out, disappeared into the forest, and the tortoise dived into the lake.

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp, 67-68.

The sculptured story is a simpler legend with a greater dramatic ending, and in this, the important part is played by the woodpecker. It is likely that in the story known to the Barhut sculptor the woodpecker was the Bodhisat, and not the antelope.

21. Pl. XLVIII. 4. [Scene 104] :—Dighatapasi sise anusāsati.[1]
"The venerable ascetic instructs his pupils."

Teacher mans a class of pupils arrogant and haughty.

The bas-relief, with the above inscriptional heading, depicts an interesting scene, where an experienced and venerable hermit or ascetic teacher is imparting instructions to a class of pupils, only four of whom are actually represented. The great teacher is seated, as Cunningham observes, on a raised platform, with his long matted hair and scanty clothing."[2] He is really seen sitting cross-legged on a skin spread over the elevated circular seat. His abundant matted hair is graphically fastened in a bushy knot. He, like other Barhut ascetics, is clad in a garment covering his loins and thighs. His commanding appearance is coupled with a heavy-built and stout body, which bears an expression of strength and vigour. With a calm and grave look, he tries with the upraised forefinger of his right hand, to impress a lesson on the mind of his pupils, who are sitting side by side in a row, forming a semicircle, beneath a tree. Cunningham wrongly takes them all to be females, and he has been partly misled by his imagined reading isise, meaning female ṛishis. So far as we can make out, none but one sitting cross-legged near the great ascetic, with ornaments worn on her arms, combed hair hanging behind and the chain-shaped double belt adorning her hip, is a female pupil. The remaining three figures, whom we take to be males, are distinguished by their sitting on their heels and knees, and no less by their waist-band of rope and hair fastened in knots. Each of these male pupils holds two small stick-like things in his hands.

They are not looking at one another. Each one of them is looking downwards, with his body slightly bent forward, and minding his own business. The forehead of the student beside the female pupil touches a twig shooting forth from the trunk of the tree, and it bears on it two small swellings with a deep depression between them. The significance of this is not easy to ascertain. The tree, too, cannot be identified. The great ascetic himself has been identified by Cunningham with the Jaina recluse Dīghatapassi, mentioned in the Buddhist Upāli-Sutta (Majjhima-Nikāya), though he confesses that the Sutta story has no connexion with

---

1 Barua Sinha, No. 198.
2 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 97.

the subject of the Barhut sculpture. If the Sutta account of Dīgnatapassi cannot explain the main details of the scene, we must look for some other story which can. But we must disabuse our mind of the fact of Dignatapassi of the label being a name of the Jaina recluse. As our rendering seeks to establish, it is an epithet signifying that the ascetic of the bas-relief was a long-experienced, and hence highly venerated teacher. Now we have a choice between these two Birth-stories, the Mūlapariyāya-Jātaka (F. 245) and the Tittira (F. 438), both giving an account of a far-famed ascetic teacher instructing his pupils. We naturally give preference to the former in the absence of such important details as the presence of the partridge, who is the main character in the Tittira-story. The latter story also does not explain why the famous professor should be found seated beneath a tree. The Mūlapariyāya-story explains this, as well as the tapping mark on the twig that stretches forth in a horizontal and slightly slanting manner.

This story relates that the Bodhisat was, in one of his births, a far-famed hermit teacher, who instructed in his hermitage five hundred pupils in sacred verses and Vedic lore. His pupils became puffed up with pride. They fancied they knew as much as their teacher, and there was no difference. They would not even appear before their teacher, nor do their round of duty. One day, they saw their master seated beneath a jujube tree. They thought it was the fine occasion to mock at him. They tapped upon the tree with their fingers, remarking it was hollow within and good for nothing. The wise teacher understood what they meant. He took the situation calmly. To tame them, he put to them a problem, which they at first thought was easy to solve, that its solution was in their Vedas. He even gave them seven days to think over it. They retired each into his own leaf-hut. But they were puzzled, they could make neither head nor tail of it. They were thus humbled down. On the seventh day, they came to their teacher and sat down in a class, respectfully greeting their master. "Well, ye of auspicious speech", said the teacher, "have you solved the question ?" "No, we have not," said they. "Fools are ye", he remarked, rebuking the youths." "Here, my dear children," he went on, "is the answer. Listen ye all". They listened to and were enlightened and well advised.

22. Pl. XXXIII. 7. [Scene 105] :—This is the small fragment of a medallion-carving where, as noticed by Cunningham, a monkey who has turned ascetic is seen sitting on a stool outside his hermitage. Here he finds a respresentation of the Ramayanic story of Sugrīva.[1] There is nothing of the kind. But it is true that

1 Stupa of Bharhut, p. 106.

the cottage is a hermit's leaf-hut, with an enclosure of bamboo-palisade, supporting a well-thatched dome-shaped roof with one pinnacle. The bamboo-posts are nicely bound in rows. The cottage has a door in front, showing a round plate inside. The plate contains several globular objects. The monkey in ascetic garb is seated on a small stool clasping his hands in a shivering mood, wistfully looking towards the door of the cottage from a corner. A long ladle-like object, or better, a stick with a ring on its top, is lying close to him. The motive of the monkey's action cannot fully be ascertained in the absence of other details. Regarding the subject we have a choice between stories of these three Jātakas—the Tinduka (F. 177), the Makkaṭa (F. 173) and the Kapi (F. 250). If the cottage was other than a hermitage, we would have preferred the first. If there was a fan-palm tree, our choice would have fallen on the second. Although the second and the third are essentially one and the same story, we prefer the third because it has no reference to the fan-palm tree or to any such additional detail. The story is as follows :—

The monkey in ascetic garb is detected when on the look out for fire.

During the rainy season, when the heaven poured down heavy showers of rain, a monkey wandered about, tormented with cold, chattering and rattling his teeth. He saw a leaf-hut where fire was burning. The fact is that the ascetic fetched a great log, lit a fire, and lay down upon his pallet, while his son sat by him, chafing his feet. How to get into the hut ? The monkey feared detection. To appear in disguise, he procured a dress from a dead anchorite. He clad himself in the upper and lower garment, threw the skin over one shoulder, took the pole and waterpot, and in this dress he approached the leaf-hut for the fire. The lad seeing him coming and taking him to be an ascetic, asked his father to call him inside to warm himself. The ascetic rose up and looked. He knew it was a monkey. He with a fire-brand scared away the monkey who left the wood for good. The ascetic was the Bodhisat, our Wise Being.

23. Pl. XLII. 1. [Scene 106] :—This scene occupies a Coping-panel where Cunningham notices a Ṛishi or hermit, seated in front of his hut and engaged in addressing a five-headed snake who is coiled up in front of him.[1] Not knowing the story forming its subject, he has missed all its characteristic features. The hermit is not seated in front of his cottage, but on one side of it and apparently leaning against it. He appears with ascetic garments and matted hair bound in a particular fashion. He

Hermit misses serpent's friendly visits for asking for a jewel.

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 99.

sits cross-legged under a tree and on a log of wood or bundle of sticks, with a basket placed in front of his cottage which is a four-sided square leaf-hut, covered by a circular dome-shaped roof, with one pinnacle. The cottage represents a type of kūṭāgāra or one-peaked house. The hermit is asking with his right hand for something from a five-hooded serpent, with his head lifted up from his coils and still remaining stationery under another tree to the right. He wears a small square object on his throat. The close contact of the hermit's limbs with the serpent's coils indicates their familiarity and friendship. The hermit with his smiling lips is entreating the serpent who is in a retreating mood. The former must be asking for something, no doubt, for the square object on the throat, which the latter could not part with. Dr. Hultzsch is right in suggesting the Maṇikaṇṭha-Jātaka (F. 253),[1] in preference to the Paṇḍara (F. 518)[2], as furnishing the theme of the artistic illustration.

The Bodhisat was then born into a rich Brahmin family. He had a younger brother. They became anchorites after their parents' death. The elder had his hermitage by the upper Ganges, and the younger by the lower river. A serpent-king, Maṇikaṇṭha or Jewel-throat by name, made friendship with the younger ascetic. He visited his friend's hermitage often and often, and waited talking and chatting. When he left, he encircled his friend with snaky folds, and embraced him, with his great hood upon his head, and did not let go his friend's body until his affection was satisfied. From fear of his friend's embrace, the ascetic grew day by day thin, squalid, emaciated and yellow. "What makes you thin ?" his elder brother inquired. "The fear of the serpent's embrace." "Do you really like him to come or not ?" "I don't", he replied, without knowing his own mind. "Does he wear any ornament ?" "Yes". "What is it ?" "A precious jewel (maṇi)." "Very well, ask him to give it to you." He promised so to do. The first day when the serpent entered the hut, before he had time to sit down, the ascetic asked him for jewel, and he hurried away without embracing him. The second day as the serpent stood at his door, he again entreated him for the thing. The serpent slipt off without entering the hut. On the third day, he pressed the same request just as the serpent was emerging from water, and the latter plunged beneath the water and went home, never to return. In vain the ascetic craved for his friend's return and warm affection.

The Barhut scene evidently represents the occurrence of the second day's meeting. The square object on the serpent's throat is the gem or jewel of the story.

1 JRAS, 1912.

2 Buddhist India, p. 209.

24. Pl. XXV. 2. [Scene 107] :—Nāga-Jātakaṁ.[1]
"Bodhisat's achievement in elephant-birth."

The great elephant assisted by his faithful mate, drags out the monster crab for its destruction.

This is the scene where Cunningham finds an elephant and a crab to be the principal actors. The crab seizes the elephant by the right hind leg. Two other elephants appear behind, and there is a pond full of fishes from which the crab has just issued.[2] Here we see a lake beside a rock leading into the water. The lake, represented in the lower part of the medallion, presents a few big fishes moving about, a crane or a swan swimming in water, and a huge crab emerging out of water, being dragged by a big elephant and powerful tusker, whose right hind leg it holds tight in its grip. We see the elephant successfully trying to walk up, dragging out the giant crab which catches his right hind leg tight in its claw and prevents him moving up and on. On the left side of the great elephant, a smaller elephant, evidently a she-elephant, walks down, reaching as far as the lower edge of the rock to be able to step into the water. Cunningham has rightly pointed out that the Pali counterpart of the sculptured story bears the title Kakkaṭa-Jātaka (F. 267). That is to say, the Jātaka-Commentary names the Birth-story after the Crab and not after the Elephant. The Pāli story is as follows :—

There was a great lake in Himālaya, where lived a great golden crab. The crab was very large, as big and round as a threshing floor. It proved to be a terror to the elephants whom it caught, and killed and ate, if they happened to come down to the lake. The Bodhisat who came to life in the Himālaya as an elephant made up his mind to catch and destroy the monster in the water. He was full of youth, great and mighty, and looked like a purple mountain of collyrium. With his parents' permission he proceeded to the Crab Tarn with his mate and a large body of elephants. He was told that the crab would not catch the elephants as they went down or browsed there, but just when they came up again. The Bodhisat conceived his plan. He ordered the other elephants to go down, eat and come up first, saying that he would follow last behind them. As the Bodhisat, going down, was coming up last, the monster caught his feet tight in his claw, like a smith seizing a lump of iron in a pair of tongs. His mate did not leave him, but stood there close by him. He pulled the crab, but could not make him budge. The crab, pulled drawing him towards itself. In deadly terror all the other elephants ran off trumpeting and dropping excrement. Even his mate could not stand, but began to make off. In response

1 Barua Sinha, No. 199.
2 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 52-53.

to a loud appeal of love which he made to her, she turned round, resolving not to leave him and to do all that she could to rescue him. She went down to the water and talked to the crab, flattering it, saying that of all the crabs in the world it was the best and chief. The sound of the female voice caught its fancy. The crab unwittingly loosened its claws from the elephant's leg, and the elephant, lifting his feet, stepped upon the crab's back. Its eyes started out. He shouted the joy-cry. The other elephants came back all, pulled the crab along, set it upon the ground, and trampled it under their feet.

The Barhut sculptor has, by a single device, sought to represent the Bodhisat's mate and the procession of the elephants, going down into the lake.

25. Pl. XLIII. 4. [Scene 108] :—Miga-samadaka chetaya.[1]

"The shrine in a woodland where the deer were eaten."

The tree-spirits lose abodes for their hasty action.

In the middle of the bas-relief, says Cunningham, there is a tree, which must be the chaitya mentioned in the label, while seated around are two lions and six deer living most amicably together.

It is difficult to ascertain whether the two uplifted animal heads to the left of the six deer around the tree in the middle of the scene are those of two lions, or of two tigers, or of a lion and a tiger. But it seems certain that the sculpture depicts a scene of the Vyaggha-Jātaka (F. 272) narrating how the tree-spirits had to suffer for driving away the tigers from a woodland.

The Bodhisat was once born as a tree-spirit in a grassy woodland. Not far away was a flowerless big tree (vanashpati), where another spirit took his abode. There the lions and the tigers lived, killing and devouring the deer, who found there a pleasant grazing ground. In fear of the lions and the tigers men did not venture to enter the woodland. But it became so full of offensive smell that it was unfit for a spirit to dwell in. Seeing that the lions and the tigers were the cause of such a state of things, the spirit living afar conceived a plan to drive them away and actually did so in spite of the Budhisat's wise counsel that such a hasty step should not be taken, as that would ultimately serve to drive themselves away. Now as the woodland was no longer visited by the lions and the tigers, men came in a body to cut down the trees and clear the jungles with the result that the abodes of the tree-spirits themselves lay open to danger. The spirit who acted so rashly tried to avert the danger by bringing back the lions

1 Barua Sinha, No. 200.
2 The Stūpa of Barhut, p. 94.

and the tigers who flatly declined to return. Within a few days the trees were cut down and the jungles cleared up, compelling the spirits to shift elsewhere. Here closes the commentary or later prose version of the story. The supplication of the spirit asking the animals driven away to come back is embodied in a verse, quoted from the Canonical Jātaka-Book. The verse itself contains no reference to the lions.[1] In all likelihood, the sculpture follows a prose-version.

The wolf fails to seize the bull.

26. Pl. XXVII. 10. [Scene 109] .—In this scene Cunningham sees only three actors a humped bull standing in a pond of water, and two wolves, one of which is seated on the bank of the pond, while the other has been caught in a snare and is hanging by one of the hind legs from the top of a pole. The animals are wolves, and not tigers, as the one seated on the bank seems to be afraid of entering the water, which is a trait of a wolf, and not of a tiger, who takes to the water freely. The shortness of their tails is also in favour of this identification. The snare represented is one well-known in India, where it is used for catching any large beasts of prey including tigers.[2]

Whether the wolves are one or two is a crucial point. Apparently they are two, one, standing upon a high ground, draws together the four legs as though preparing to jump upon a mighty bull, who stands manfully with his long and well-shaped horns, facing him, near the rock, on a marshy ground, covered over with lotus-shrubs, and the other hanging, his head downward, being caught in a snare, from a noose tied to the bent top of a standing post. The subject of the scene is identified by Mr. Rama Prasad Chanda with the Vṛishabha-Jātaka of the Mahāvastu.[3] But the story is so badly told in the Mahāvastu that nothing can be definitely made out of it. The Bodhisat was then a bull, who lived in a forest-region. He was strong, powerful, and armed with the well-formed big horns. A girikaśṛigāla or wolfish jackal followed him, his body trembling in fear. Another jackal, a comrade of his, remarked that in vain he followed the bull for a long time without being able to do him any harm. The Mahāvastu-story well accounts for the presence of the bull and two wolves of wolfish jackals, but it does not explain why one of the wolves is hanging down, being caught in a snare, from the top of a pole, or why the bull is standing in water, on a marshy ground, covered over with lotus-shrubs.

1 Fausboll's Jātaka. II, p. 358 :—
Etha vyaggha nivattavho paccametha mahavanam,

2 Stūpa of Barhut p. 69.

3 Mahāvastu, III.

Let us examine how far the details of the scene square with the Pāli Vaka-Jātaka (F. 300), containing the following story :—

The Bodhisat then came to life as Śakra, king of the gods. At that time a wolf lived on a rock by the bank of the Ganges. The winter-floods came up, surrounding the rock. The wolf lay upon the rock, with no food and no way of getting it. As water rose higher and higher, the wolf pondered : "Here I lie, with nothing to do. I may as well keep a sabbath feast." Thus he made up his mind to observe the fast and keep the religious precepts. Śakra, in order to test him, assumed the shape of a wild goat, and stood near, letting the wolf see him. "Let go the sabbath this time" ! thought the wolf, as he espied the goat. Up he got, and leapt at the creature. The goat jumped about so that the wolf could not catch him. The wolf saw that he could not catch him. He came to a standstill, and went back, thinking to himself as he lay down again, "Well, the sabbath is not broken after all !"

This story accounts for the presence of the high ground, wolf standing upon it. It makes no difference if a bull be substituted for the goat. The point that remains unexplained as the hanging of the same wolf or of a second wolf from the top of a pole, caught in a pendent noose (vāḷa-saṃghāta-yanta). We must necessarily presume a different version of the Vaka or the Vṛishabha-Jātaka, in which the wolf was decoyed into a spot, where, as the bull knew, a hunter laid a snare.

27. [Missing] :—Dusito giri dadati na.[1]

Queen read well her husband's feeling when she asked him to offer her the hill of gold, if he found any, and was flatly refused.

The Jātaka-scene to which this inscription referred is missing. The inscription itself admits of a twofold rendering according as the first word be read dusita or dukhita. Essentially the meaning is the same. The text seems to have been based upon some expressions in the Suchchaja-Jātaka (F. 320) in which the good queen of Benares is said to have taken her husband's indifference to her to be a foregone conclusion as he had refused to share with her the hill of gold, if he had chanced upon any, even by a word of mouth, when she accompanied him into the forest where he was bound to go by command of his father, the reigning king, in order that he as crown-prince might not have caused trouble.

28. Pl. XLI. 1. 3. [Scene III.] :—These two scenes evidently complete each

1 Barua Sinha No. 201.

Ram's respectful salutation and foolish mendicant's fate.

other. On the left side of the first scene Cunningham sees an ascetic approaching a full-grown ram, who has already begun to incline his head downwards as if intending to butt. The ascetic is carrying two basket-like bowls slung from the ends of a banghi pole[1]. He is typically a khārībhāra-parivrājaka. He is clad in a thick raiment tightly covering up his loins and thighs. A man (Cunningham's shepherd) standing on the right, at some distance, is warning the ascetic not to trust the beast, and he has a dignified appearance befitting a Bodhisat. The second scene leads us to think that the foolish ascetic, heedless of the wise man's words, stood on the spot and the result was disastrous. He is now seen kneeling down on the ground, with his right knee raised to receive the ram's butt, his banghi load lying behind him, while the wise man is telling him, with his forefinger raised, that the fate he met was due to his foolish expectation from a beast. The story thus sculptured has rightly been identified by Professor Rhys Davids and others with the Chammasāṭaka-Jātaka (F. 324), narrating how an ascetic came to sore regret on being rudely handled by a ram whose butting he mistook for an act of salutation. The Bodhisat was in one of his births a trader before whose shop was the rams' fighting ground. One day a wandering mendicant, clad in a skin-garment, in going his round for alms, came there. He was a khāribhāra, carrying as he did his load of bowls by means of a banghi pole. As he came near a ram, he saw the beast falling back before him. He fancied the beast did this to show him respect. He thought the ram alone in the whole world recognised his worth. In spite of the timely warning from the Bodhisat who was then sitting in his shop, he still stood there with loined hands in respectful salutation to the beast, in expectation of the same in return. He was well repaid. The ram came at full speed. He struck him on the thigh and knocked him down. The Bodhisat ran out to his rescue. He was then maddened with pain, his leg was broken, his load was upset, his fortune was damaged, his pain became unbearable. He lamented as he explained how by showing respect to an unworthy fellow and expecting the same in return, he came to grief.

According to this Birth-story, the ascetic ought to have been standing with joined hands and the Bodhisat sitting in his shop in the first scene. The Barhut sculptures, as contrasted with the Commentary-version of the Birth-story, seem to have been designed to illustrate the moral that the ascetic rather met his fate not so much by showing honour to as expecting respect from a beast.

---

1 Stupa of Barhut, p. 99.

29. Pl. XIV. S. Gate. Prasenajit Piller. Middle Bas-Relief. Side— [Scene 112] :—Kaḍariki[1]

"Kaṇḍari and Ki [nnarā]."

This scene, with the above incomplete heading, presents a man and a woman quietly standing beside each other, the woman being placed on the left hand of the man. One can see an earring on her left ear, while her right ear shows no such ornament. She places her right hand on the left shoulder of the man, and holds in her upraised left hand a bird looking like a pigeon[2]. He holds in his left hand a bird looking like a hawk. He holds in his right hand a small object between his fingers, and one need not be surprised if it is an earring. She holds a pigeon or dove, and he holds a hawk on his breast. What can be the meaning of this ? Does it not mean that like a hawk he swooped upon her turtle-heart given away to another man ? The Buddhist story of Kaṇḍari and Kinnarā contained in the Kuṇāla-Jātaka (F. 523), and also counted as a separate Jātaka (F. 341), shows that its meaning is nothing but this.

Episode of Kaṇḍari and Kinnarā.

There was a king of Benares named Kaṇḍari. He was a very handsome man. His wife Kinnarā was a lovely woman. He was so fond and proud of her that he could not imagine that she could think of any other man in the world. But she fell in love with an ugly and deformed cripple, who dwelt under a rose-apple tree that grew near the king's palace. The Bodhisat was then his chaplain, Pañchāla-chaṇḍa by name. One day the queen was very late in coming to meet the cripple at night. He being angry struck her, which caused one of her 'lion's head ear-ornaments to fall from her ear. As advised by his chaplain, the king closely followed her. The ornament fell upon his feet. They did not know that he was there in the shade of the rose-apple tree, their usual meeting place. He came back to his bed-chamber taking the ornament with him. He did not disturb her during the night, when she returned The next day he ordered her to come into his presence wearing every ornament he gave her. She refused to come, excusing herself that her lion's head jewel was with the goldsmith. He sent another message asking her to come with the single ear-ornament. She came in. "Where is your other earring ?" he asked. "With the goldsmith," she replied. The goldsmith was immediately sent for. He said he had not had it. The king being enraged, threw the picked up earring •down before

1 Barua Sinha, No, 202.

2 Divyāvadāna, p. 300 : In Buddhist art, the figure of the pigeon is an emblem of passion (rāgo kapotākāreṇa kartavyah.

her and bade her go. The vileness of the woman was no longer a secret to him, and he found no words to praise his wise chaplain.

The Barhut artist may be congratulated for his skilful execution of the details. By the symbols of the hawk and the pigeon he has suggested the nature of the affair.

30. Pl. XLIV. 6 [Scene 113] :—This bas-relief depicts a Jātaka-scene wrongly identified by Cunningham with the well-known Buddhist story of the building of the city of Kapilavāstu, named after the sage Kapila, who gave up his residence to the four exiled Ikshvāku princes who appeared before him. Cunningham's description of the bas-relief is far from being perfect and accurate. It takes note of a sage seated with his right shoulder bare, and his long hair twisted and coiled into a massive jaṭā behind his head in the usual manner of an ascetic, while four princes stand and kneel before him with their hands joined in an attitude of respect.[1]

Ascetic tests innocence by oaths.

At the left extremity of the panel there is to be seen behind an ascetic, a small tree with fruits grown in abundance. The ascetic is seated cross-legged at the foot of this tree keeping his kamanḍalu to his right. Close to the kamanḍalu and just in front of it, there is a basketful of fruits apparently gathered from the tree behind the ascetic. He is holding in his hands and on soles of his feet turned upwards a small pot-like object, which appears to be an earthen lamp with flames uniformly rising up, forming a gradually widened circular zone, while with the two fingers of his right hand, pointed towards the flames of the lamp, he seems to draw attention of four persons before him, all with joined hands placed towards him, two in front standing and two behind sitting cross-legged. The action of these four men does not seem to be mere showing respect to the ascetic. They appear to perform some solemn act before fire, perhaps as a means of absolving them from charges of iniquity brought against them with reference to the fruits of the tree. If these conjectures be correct, the details of the scene can be explained in the light of the Commentary-version of the Ambachora-Jātaka (F. 344) which is narrated below :—

There was a tricky ascetic (kūṭa-jaṭila) who lived in a leaf-hut built in a mango-grove on a river bank near Benares. He kept watch over the mangoes, —the ripe fruits that fell from the mango-trees, occasionally sharing the fruits with his kinsfolk. He gained his livelihood by various false practices quite unworthy of a man of ascetic vow. In order to chastise him, the Bodhisat, then born as Śakra,

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 191.

knocked down the mangoes when the ascetic went to village for alms, and so created a situation by his supernatural power as to make the orchard appear as if it were plundered by thieves. It so happened that at this inopportune moment, four daughters of a merchant came to the orchard, whom the ascetic, on his return, met on the spot and suspecting them to be the wrong-doer, openly accused them of theft. They frankly declined it, but he would not believe them. He had not allowed them to leave the hermitage until they were able to prove their innocence, taking separately an oath, which none but an innocent individual could venture to take. Next came the turn of the Śakra to appear before the ascetic in a terrible form and drive him away from the place.

The bas-relief omits altogether Śakra's part in the story. The scene actually depicted is that of oath-taking by four persons who ought to have been represented as women according to the story. That Barhut sculptor has had evidently followed a different version of the story in which the oaths were taken by men instead of women. The representation of four persons as males may as well have been due to the sculptor's oversight.

31. Pl. Indian Museum. Bhārhut Gallery. 29 (2) b[Scene 22 (3)]:—This curious bas-relief, carved, apparently with a decorative motive, in a half-medallion at the top of a Railing-pillar, represents a scene, where an elephant madly runs at full speed towards a tree, trampling a tortoise on the way and crushing the creature under his feet. His gaping mouth, panting breath, out-stretched tail, falling dung, galloping strides and bodily movements are expressive of the quick motion. The tree and the elephant are approached by another tortoise from the opposite side, the creature moving at full speed and dashing on. Here the second tortoise seems to have provoked the elephant to such an extent that the latter, unmindful of what was across his path, dashed forward only to dash his head against the tree and break and shatter it. This tortoise must be the Bodhisat, wiser of the two creatures, who succeeded in defeating and destroying the elephant by his tact, while the other was trampled and crushed. His wisdom lay in fighting under the cover of a tree, and the folly of the other creature in setting an open fight. The Barhut scene is based upon a Buddhist story, different in character from the story of fight between an elephant and a tortoise (gaja-kacchapa-yuddha) which has become classical through the Brahmanical collections of fables. Unfortunately, the Buddhist story cannot be traced in the existing Buddhist literature. We wonder if this was the earlier form of the Gaja-Kumbha, or better, Gaja-Kumma-Jātaka (F. 345)

Fight between elephant and tortoises.

illustrating the following double moral by the fate of two tortoises in a fight with an elephant :

"Whose doth hurry when ought to rest,
And tarries long when utmost speed is best,
Destroys the slender fabric of his weal,
As withered leaf is crushed beneath the heel.
But they who wait betimes nor haste too soon,
Fulfil their purpose, as her orb the moon.'

The Commentary form of the Jātaka is not quite suited to this moral.

32. Pl. XLVII. 3 [Scene 114] :—Sujāto gahuto Jataka.[1]

"The Bodhisat's birth as Sujāta, the cow-feeder."

The bas-relief with the above label offers no difficulty of interpretation or identification. It presents on the left a well-drawn humped bull on the ground. A young man, with his long hair combed behind, is sitting on his left heel and leg, before the bull, maintaining his balance by holding his left knee with his left hand and keeping his right leg erect at a right angle with his thigh. He holds up to the mouth of the bull, a bunch of grass or fodder in his right hand stretched out in front. He is engaged in the act of feeding the bull which appears as if it is alive. According to the label, he is no other than Sujāta, the cow-feeder. One elderly man stands behind him, placing his left hand accross his breast and his right hand on Sujāta's head, and enquiring what the young man was about. Cunningham has rightly identified the scene with Sujāta's story in the Sujāta-Jātaka (F. 352)[2], though we cannot agree with him when he says that this Birth-story substitutes a buffalo for the bull or ox. It expressly refers to the beast as an ox. The Sujāta-story impresses this moral by the argument of the familiar popular maxim—'a dead cow does not eat grass'.

Bodhisat invokes a dead cow to eat grass.

Sujāta was a Bodhisat. His father, it is said, became afflicted with sorrow from the day of his father's death. He deposited the old man's bodily remains in a stūpa or mound of earth, which he erected in his garden. Whenever he visited this place, he adorned the mound with flowers and bitterly lamented, neglecting his business and even forgetting the need of bathing and eating. Determined to cure him of his inordinate grief, his son Sujāta went outside the city of Benares, and

1 Barua Sinha, No 203.
2 Stūpa of Bherhut, pp. 76-77.

seeing a dead ox, began to ask it repeatedly to eat and drink the grass and water he procured for it. People informed this to his father who was then lamenting over his grandsire's ashes. "What's the fellow doing! I must stop it at once." Thus he ceased to grieve for his father and began to grieve for his son. "My dear Sujāta, my son, are you so thoughtless as to believe your feeding can raise to life this ox which is dead! Can a carcass eat grass or drink water?" "Father, I am thoughtless indeed. But if this dead ox, though its body still exists, cannot come back to life, why then so much weeping over the ashes of one whose body has been consumed by fire.!" Now he saw what his son meant. He abandoned his grief. He acknowledged Sujāta's wisdom.

33. [Missing] : Naḍodapāde dhenachhako.[1] :—

"Trim-boughed banian tree at the foot of Mt. Naḍoda?"

Scene of cold-blooded murder of captive kings under the shade of a banian tree.

The Jātaka-scene to which this inscription was attached is missing. The inscription itself seems to have referred to a trim-boughed banian tree mentioned in the Dhonasākha-Jātaka (F. 353) in which the ruthless king of Benares is said to have killed in cold blood one thousand kings whom he took captives under this sacred tree, being killed in turn by a Yaksha.

34. Pl. XLVII. 7 [Scene 116] :—Daḍanikamo chakamo.[2]

"The walk wherefrom escape is difficult."

No weeping for the dear one whose dead body is being burnt in a cremation-ground.

Cunningham observes in this curious scene an altar or throne occupying the middle place, behind which are four lions with gaping mouths, and on the right, five men standing in front of a sixth, who sits on the ground to the left in a contemplative attitude, with his head leaning on his left hand, while in the front are two gigantic human heads with a human hand between them and towards the throne or altar a bundle of faggots burning. He conjectures that this scene represents one of the 16 Buddhist hells, or places of punishment.[3]

We take it that the scene is not that of a Buddhist hell, but that of burning or cremation. The faggots burning represent a funeral pyre, while two human heads with hideous looks are symbols representing two ogres, or more accurately, one

1 Barua Sinha, No. 204.
2 Barua Sinha, No. 205.
3 The Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 04.

ogre eating a dead body, of which only the head is left yet untouched. Thus the place is a śmaśāna used both as a cremation ground,[1] where dead bodies were burnt and as a 'charnel-field,[2] where dead bodies were thrown away unburnt. On one side of burning faggots we see a cobra-like snake turning back towards it, and on the other side of it, a youngman lying as though dead on the ground. If these conjectures are sound, the scene can be rendered intelligible and the ramaining figures explained by the Pāli Uraga-Jātaka (F. 354).[3] The story as narrated in Fausboll's edition of the Jātaka-Commentary, the Jātakatthavaṇṇanā, may be summarised as follows :—

The Bodhisat was at the time a Brahmin. who lived happily in a village, near Benares, with his wife, son, daughter-in-law and two daughters. One day, he went with his son to work in his plough-land. While his son was burning the weeds heaped up in one place, he was bitten by a poisonous snake, and died then and there. The Bodhisat did neither cry nor lament, although this mishap occurred before his eyes, knowing such was an inevitable end of the body. When the news reached the female members of his house, none of them wept. The dead body was duly carried to the cremation-ground and consigned to fire. It was a great wonder that while the body was being cremated, none of the Bodhisat's family, including himself, was seen to shed tear. This wonderful power of self-restraint made the throne of Śakra glow. Forthwith Śakra, king of the gods, came down to the cremation ground, and after uttering the lion's roar stood on one side. He interrogated the Bodhisat and the four female members of his family, asking each of them to tell him why it was that they had not wept. It is said that the replies received from them satisfied Śakra, who was so pleased with their attitude that he filled their house with riches beyond measure, and departed. Here the story ends.

We can well understand that the five human figures to the right of the funeral pyre are the five members of the Bodhisat's family, including himself. The human figure to the left is Śakra, while the four lions with gaping mouths behind the altar symbolise the lions' roar preceding Śakra's appearance. The man standing just opposite Śakra is the Bodhisat, behind him stands his wife, the figure behind her is his daughter-in-law, and two human figures behind the altar in the same line

1 dagdha-chitā, ālāhana or ādāhana,
2 anagnidagdha-chitā, sivathikā, āmaka-susāna.
3 The Canonical or poetic version of the story is contained in the Petavatthu. See Uraga-Peta-vatthu.

with the lions, are his two daughters.[1] The altar is designed as a protection of fire against the wind and signifies symbolically, as explained in a Vedic hymn, a dividing line between the living and the dead. The correctness of the identification cannot at all be doubted when both the snake and the young man bitten by it are distinctly represented. But we must note that here the sculptor has used the same device of a bundle of burning faggots to serve a double purpose, namely, to represent (I) the burning of piled up weeds by the Brahmin's son, and (2) the burning of his dead body on a funeral pyre.

35. Pl. XXVI. 5 [Scene 117] :—Laṭuvā-Jātakaṁ.[2].

"Jātaka-episode of a quail."

The resourceful quail teaches a tragic lesson to the roguish elephant that crushed young birds with impunity.

This medallion presents a rocky mountain with a tree growing on one side. In the lower left corner is a bird's nest, and inside the nest is a young bird, yet too young to fly. The nest is partly broken. There were probably more birds than one when the nest was complete. In the lower phase we see a herd of elephants cautiously moving forward, following the footsteps of the leader, along a track down the hill and below the tree. In the upper phase the young birds are about to be crushed by an isolated elephant beneath his feet. The young birds are shown just beneath the right leg of the beast. The elephant rushes forward trumpeting along a track up the hill, leading to a precipice. A quail, the laṭuvā of the inscription, perches on a branch of the tree, and watches the elephant walking up the hill. A crow sitting on the head of the elephant, is pecking out the beast's left eye after pecking out his right. A cataract-like thing lies across the pecked out right eye, while a frog is seated on the top of a rock in front of the elephant, and at some distance. The second position on the right shows that the elephant has fallen headlong down the rocky cliff, to the great joy of the quail whose young ones he trampled and crushed down. Cunningham has rightly remarked that here is a close agreement between the scenes of the Barhut sculpture and the Pāli version of the legend, and these are the six points noticed by him : (I) the bird's nest with the young ones lying on the ground beneath the elephant's foot ; (2) the bird sitting on the tree and brooding over the misdeed ; (3) the attack of the crow and the flesh-fly, the former on the

1 The only serious objection that can be raised is that all the human figures wear turbans, which, according to the general Barhut convention, is the characteristic of males. But this may be due to the sculptor's oversight, or there may have been some very special reason for providing even the female figures with a headgear in the shape of turbans. Such instances, though rare, are not fewer than half-a-dozen.

2 Barua Sinha, No. 206.

elephant's head and the latter on his eye ; (4) the elephant running away frightened with his tail between his legs ; (5) the frog seated on the rocky mount ; and (6) the fall of the elephant down the rocky cliff.[1] By the Pāli version of the legend he means the story of the Laṭukikā-Jātaka (F. 357), in the Pañchatantra version of which a pair of sparrows (chaṭaka) is the principal actors. The Buddhist story relates :—

The Bodhisat was then born as an elephant. He became the leader of a herd consisting of 80,000 elephants, and dwelt in the Himalayas. A quail laid her eggs on the feeding-ground of the elephants. Her young ones were still unable to fly when the Bodhisat with his attendant herd, in ranging about for food, came to this spot. The bird implored his righteous protection for the defence of her brood. The Bodhisat himself and his followers cautiously passed off without doing any harm to the young birds. Behind them came a solitary roguish elephant. The quail also sought his protection, paying him homage uplifting her wings. In spite of her pathetic appeal, he crushed the young birds to atoms and went out loudly trumpeting. The quail sitting down on a bough of a tree, brooded over the atrocious crime committed by the elephant. She making up her mind to teach him a lesson, went first to a crow who happened to be a friend of hers, and asked to peck out the eyes of the beast by striking with his beak. Next she went to a blue fly whom she asked to drop its eggs upon the eyes put out by the crow. Last of all, she saw a frog whom she asked to take his stand and croak on the top of the mountain to attract the blind elephant thither to seek for water to drink, and then to come down to croak again at the bottom of the precipice to make him fall down the rocky cliff. One day the crow pecked out both the eyes of the elephant, the fly dropped its eggs upon them and the elephant being maddened by the pain and overcome with thirst, wandered about seeking for water to drink. The frog standing on the top of a mountain uttered a croak. The elephant climbed up the mountain thinking he might find water there. Then the frog descending to the bottom, croaked. The elephant moved forward towards the precipice, and rolling over, fell to the bottom of the mountain and died again. When the tragic act was enacted, the quail with delightful heart strutted over that elephant's body.

The hermit laments over the death of his pet deer and the Bodhisat remonstrates with him.

36. Pl. XLIII. 8 [Scene 118] :—In this scene Cunningham finds three actors, a Ṛishi, a hunter or shepherd, and an antelope in a forest near the Ṛishi's hermitage., The antelope is lying down with its head stretched out and resting on the ground, apparently as if bound, while the Ṛishi is about to drive knife into the back of its neck. The

[1] Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 59.

hunter, or whoever the other figure may be, has both his forefingers raised as if expostulating with the ascetic, who from his dress, appears to be a fire worshipper.[1]

We find that the main action of the scene is shown outside the hermit's cottage which represents a distinct type of one-peaked house, covered by a four blocked-vaulted roof. The hermit himself stands on the right side of his cottage leaning forward over a young deer. Although the deer is lying down on his four legs, no one can mistake, observing how his head rests helplessly on the ground and how dim are his eyes, that he is a dead animal. The hermit apparently laments over the death of his pet deer, grasping his right horn with his right hand. He is clad in a garment of birch bark and has his matted hair bound up into a knot in one of the Barhut fashions. A second man with bright appearance and superior dignity stands before him on the right, expostulating, no doubt, with him, and apparently reprimanding him for his folly and inordinate grief. In the upper side of the panel there are two trees, the presence of which adds much charm to the scene. We must welcome Dr. Hultzsch's suggestion as to the identification of the scene with the story of the Migapotaka-Jātaka (F. 372), narrating how the wise Bodhisat admonished a hermit against excessive grief at the loss of his pet deer. The story is as follows :—

A hermit found in the forest a young deer who had lost his dam. He took him to his hermitage. The deer who grew up a handsome and comely beast under his fatherly care died one day of indigestion from a surfeit of grass. The hermit began to lament as if he had lost his own son. The Bodhisat who was then born as Śakra, king of heaven, came down to admonish the hermit. He taking his stand in the air, took the hermit to task and ultimately cured him of his madness in weeping like a child for a cause like this.

37. Pl. XLVII. 5. [Scene 119] :—Viḍala-Jātaka Kukuṭa-Jātaka.[2]

"The Jātaka-episode of the Cat and the Cock".

The inscription clearly indicates that the bas-relief illustrates a Jātaka-scene where a cat and a cock are the two actors. The cat, as noticed by Cunningham, is looking up at the cock seated in a tree on the left. They are evidently conversing with each other. Cunningham has, with the friendly aid of Revd. Subhuti, rightly identified the scene with the story of the Kukkuṭa-Jātaka (F. 383), which may be taken as an

The cock baffles the cat's attempt to deceive.

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 101.

2 Barua Sinha, No. 207.

Indian prototype of the story of the Dog, the Cock and the Fox in Æsop's Fables.

The Bodhisat was once born as a cock, who dwelt in the forest with a large number of followers. Not far away lived a she-cat who cleverly deceived, killed and ate all the cocks but the Bodhisat. Determined at last to catch hold of him the she-cat planned a device. Seeing the wise cock on a tree, she went to its foot and tried to cajole him by offering herself to be his wife. "Beasts and birds can never marry," the cock remarked, to get rid of her, "thou must sue some other husband." The pleadings of the cat were all in vain. "After killing all my kinsfolk, thou pleasest me with courtesy." Thus he baffled her plan and she went away disappointed.

38. **Pl. XLI. 5** [Scene 120] :—This bas-relief represents, according to Cunningham, one man and one woman in a standing posture beside a house. They are engaged in earnest conversation, while another man is seated behind the house. He finds nothing in it indicating the nature of the story, though he suspects that the seated figure is Rāma and the other two are Sītā and Lakshmaṇa.[1]

Needle-hawking to win the hand of headsmith's daughter.

It is difficult to relish Cunningham's bias for the story of Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa without overtaxing our patience. The scene really shows a man seated inside a homestead consisting of a house or houses provided with thatched roof of two blocks, joined together in such a manner that these form with the upper edge of each side-wall a semi-circle with a small window in the middle. The man inside is sitting on a seat that looks like a stool, wherefrom he hangs down his legs, placed towards the entrance of the outer house in his front. The fore-finger of his right hand is pointed to an outward direction and his general attitude clearly indicates that he is eagerly overhearing the conversation of a woman and a man outside. The woman stands close to the house, keeping it behind her back. She is apparently discussing some matter with a man whose gait shows as if he has halted on coming from outside. He carries in his left hand, placed on his left breast, a small bundle in a case or wrapper of cloth raised towards his neck. He lifting up his right hand and upraising his forefinger, is trying to explain something to the woman before him. If these observations be sound, it is not at all unnatural to think that here we have a representation of the story of the Sūchi-Jātaka (F. 387)[2], narrating how

1 Stūpa of Barhut, p. 99.

2 Cf. Mahāvastu II. pp. 87-89 Amatā-karmāradutā Jātaka.

a skilled young smith managed to marry the handsome daughter of the head smith by a successful demonstration of some marvellous needle made by him.

The Bodhisat was then born, says the Jātaka, in a smith's family. He was a clever craftsman. His parents were poor. But he wanted to win the hand of a rich man's daughter in his caste. Her father was the head smith of a neighbouring village, and her beauty was praised by all her castemen who saw her. How to make her his wife, poor that the young smith was ? He devised the means. He made the delicate strong needle which pierced dice and floated in water. He made a suitable sheath for it, and enclosed this one sheath within six other sheathes of the same pattern. Now putting the sheath-encased needle in a tube and placing it in a wrapper, he went to sell it in the village where the head smith lived. In consummation of his hawking errand, he came up to the street near the head smith's house, standing at the door of which he cried for a buyer, describing the needle and praising it. His sweet voice captivated the heart of the head smith's daughter, who was at the time fanning her father with a palm-leaf as he lay on a little bed to allay discomfort after his early meal. She was impelled to come out and speak with him outside, standing in the verandah or under the eaves, as one may say. "Is it not folly", she said, "that you wish to sell needles in a village of smiths ? However praise you may declare of your needle all day, who will take it from your hand ? If you wish to get a price, why don't you go to another village ?" The young smith intelligently replied and said :

"Lady, if once your father know
This needle made by me ;
On me your hand he would bestow
And all his property".

His words were not uttered in vain. The head smith hearing all their talk, called them into his presence. He and other smiths who were shown the needle, could not help admiring the young smith's skill in invention. The reward followed, the most coveted one, the hand of the fair lady he loved.

The Barhut scene represents only the central and dramatic episode of this Jātaka.

39. Pl. XLVI. 2. [Scene 121] :—Uda-Jātaka [ṁ][1].

"The otter in a Jātaka-Scene."

Here Cunningham notices a Ṛishi seated on the ground with his water bowl

1 Barua Sinha, No. 208.

and a basket of food near him, before him a pool of water stocked with fish, on the bank of which a pair of cats are quarrelling over the head and tail of a fish, and beyond them two dogs, one trotting joyfully off with a bone, and the other sitting down disappointed, with his back turned to his luckier rival.[1]

Two otters quarrel over the shares of a red fish only to part with the lion's share which goes to a clever jackal.

We indeed see a hermit seated in his hermitage, at the foot of a tree, a seat of antelope-skin, spread on the ground. The hermitage shows behind the hermit a cluster of banana or plantain trees in flower and three other trees, while a river or a lake in front. The hermit sits partly cross-legged, facing the waters, placing his right hand on the knee of his left leg drawn towards him, holding the handle of a water-jug with his left hand, and keeping a basket of fruits beyond his kamaṇḍalu in front. He sits in a reflective mood, as if moralising upon the strange incident which happened before his eyes. What is this strange occurrence ? There is a river or a lake with three big fishes moving about in it, and two otters are seen quarrelling on its bank over the shares of one of the fishes caught by them, dragged up, and placed lengthwise between them. The fish's body is divided into three parts, comprising the head, the tail and the middle portion, the last-named part being placed crosswise, while a jackal manfully stands beside the otters, pretending to be a benevolent peace-maker. The same jackal is seen, in the upper corner on the right, trotting off with the middle portion seized in his mouth, leaving the head to the one who is sitting by the head, and the tail to the other who is sitting by the tail. The scene has been accurately identified by professor Rhys Davids[2] and others[3] with the instructive story of the Dabbhapuppha-Jātaka (F. 400), narrating how two otters quarrelling over the shares of a fish they had caught, were cheated by a jackal.

The Bodhisat was then a tree-spirit by a river-bank. A jackal, named Trickester, lived with his mate in a place by that river-bank. She desired to eat a fresh rohita fish. He promised to bring it to her. Going by the river he wrapped his feet in creepers, and went along the bank, when he saw two otters, Deep-diver and Shore-ranger, standing on the bank, looking out for fishes. As he saw a great rohita fish, the Deep-diver plunged into water with a bound, and took it by its tail, calling the otter to his aid. The two together took out the fish, killed it, laid it on the ground. The question arose—how to divide it. One asked the other to divide it, but none could divide. They sat down quarrelling, leaving the fish as it was. At the moment the

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, P. 75. 2 Buddhist India, p. 209. 3 J R A S, 1912.

jackal of grey grass-colour (dabbhapuppha) appeared on the spot. They besought him saluting, to make an equal division and distribute the shares. The jackal dividing it into three shares, left the head for one and the tail for the other, and ran away before their eyes, seizing the middle portion in his mouth. The jackal was pleased, the otters sat downcast, and the wise tree-spirit found a fitting occasion to moralise upon.

The Barhut scene is evidently based upon a Birth-story, in which a hermit instead of a tree-spirit, was the wise being to watch the incident and moralise upon it.

40. Pl. XXXIII. 4 [scene 122] **:**—In this scene Cunningham sees a tree filled with monkeys. A man and a monkey are seated below on stools facing each other. The man is evidently speaking, as his right hand is raised towards the monkey, who sits all attention, leaning slightly forward with both hands resting on his knees. Behind them stand two men who are holding out a rectangular object between them, which may perhaps be a net to catch fruits falling from the tree. The monkeys are represented in various ways, as climbing, sitting, jumping, and eating the fruit of the tree. The bust of a man appears between two seated figures, with his hands crossed on his breast.[1] Here we see a flowing river that divides the medallion-carving crosswise into two portions. In the river itself we see some fishes moving down along the current and a tortoise moving up against the current. On its two sides there are two banian trees, one much larger and taller than the other, both showing several branches and a great wealth of foliage and verdure. The smaller tree stands just on the upper bank of the river, and the larger one at a little distance from the lower bank. The trees stand facing each other. A great monkey succeeds in effecting a bridge-connexion between the two trees by fastening one end of a long piece of cane to the top of the smaller tree and the other end to the knee of his right leg, and himself grasping two smaller upper branches of the larger tree with his hands and outstretching his body in the air to complete the link. It seems that somehow or other he managed to reach the smaller tree from the larger one and procure a long cane on the other side of the river. He must have fastened one end of the cane to the top of the smaller tree and the other end to his leg before he jumped high up in the air to reach the larger tree across the river. The movement of the long-tailed monkeys apparently belonging to the retinue of the great monkey, is represented by showing them at various height of the larger tree. One of the older monkeys is seen waiting on the head of its trunk, turning his face backward as if apprehending some danger from

Monkey-king risks his life to save his followers.

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 105 106. Cf. Tawney's explanation of the scene in J. A. S. B. for August, 1891.

that quarter and ascertaining what it is. One of the younger monkeys sits between two branches, just above the trunk and below the feet of the great monkey who in this position stands on that branch of the tree which has grown over the river. He looks over his back, turning his face towards two monkeys, one younger and one older, who, sitting one behind the other, are looking up to their leader for advice and help. It is likely that the same two monkeys are now shown a little higher up in a second position. Still higher up we see a bigger monkey sitting on an upper branch, facing the great monkey in the position in which he makes a bridge, for the troop of monkeys to pass through. It may be that here we have a third position where the older monkey has moved higher up, followed by the younger monkey who appears behind and a little below him. A bigger monkey appears on the tree-top just above the great monkey's head, feeling his way, observing how he should proceed, with readiness to jump out. The same monkey is again shown as cautiously walking on all fours along the cane. He appears at last walking down along the main branch of the smaller tree. Thus we have a clear indication as to how the monkeys passed from the larger tree to the smaller by treading on the back of the great monkey and along the cane, and finally got down to the other side of the river in safety. In the lower portion of the medallion we see the great monkey brought down by two men with the help of a net or screen like object, sits calmly on a morha on the left, while the two men remain still standing, holding out the net or screen. The monkey sits in the usual monkey-fashion, placing his hands on the knees of his legs , and facing a man who, too, sits on a morha on the right. The great monkey is seen at last kneeling on the ground with joined hands held on his breast, in an attitude of respect, and addressing himself to the man on the morha who waves his right hand, asking others not to make noise. The scene has been rightly identified with the Mahākapi-Jātaka (F. 407), narrating how a great monkey boldly risked his life to make a way of escape for his followers. There are altogether three versions of this Birth-story, viz., two in Pāli and one in Sanskrit. The Pāli Canonical version is a short and simple narration which does not suffice to supply the Barhut sculptor with the required details. The Pāli Commentary version has, on the contrary, many details not required by the Barhut sculptor, and in many points it shows a disparity with the Barhut scene. The Barhut story was based upon a version similar to the Sanskrit story of Mahākapi in the Jātakamālā (No. 27). The story relevant to the Barhut scene, is as follows :—

The Bodhisat was then born as a monkey-king. He was strong and vigorous,

and lived in a beautiful Himalayan forest with a large retinue of monkeys.[1] Near the Ganges bank there was a huge banyan tree which, with its branches deep shade and thick leaves, looked like a mountain peak. Its fruits were even larger than palmyra, and possessed divine fragrance and flavour. From one branch the fruits fell on the ground, from one into the Ganges water, and from two into the main trunk of the tree. The great being and the troop of monkeys took care that no fruit either grew on or fell from the branch that stretched towards the Ganges. But as ill luck would have it, one ripe fruit, which remained concealed in an ant's nest, fell into the river, and stuck in a net. When the fruit was shown to the king of Benares by the fishermen who were in charge of the net, he sent for the foresters from whom he learnt that it was a delicious and rare fruit. He asked the foresters where it grew, and hearing it grew on a river bank in the Himalaya quarter, he started in rafts for the place with a great retinue. Coming to the place where the tree stood he ordered his archers to guard the tree. When they had all fallen asleep, the Bodhisat came at midnight with his retinue. The monkeys moving from branch to branch, ate the fruits. The king waking and seeing their doings, ordered his archers to surround the monkeys with arrows ready. The monkeys seeing them and fearing death, as they could not escape, approached the Bodhisat, their leader, and stood shivering as he informed him of the matter, saying, "Sire, the king's archers stand round the tree, meaning to shoot us with arrows. What are we to do now?" Do not fear," said the Bodhisat comforting them, "I will give you life." He forthwith ascended a branch that rose up straight, went along another branch that stretched towards the Ganges, springing from the end of it, passed a hundred bow-lengths and alighted on a bush on the bank and cutting a cane at the root fastened one end of it to the tree and the other to his own waist. In measuring the length of the cane to cover the distance he forgot to reckon the part to be fastened to his waist. The result was that he could reach the tree only by seizing a branch of it with his hands. Thus he made a bridge for his followers. The Jātakamālā story says that the monkey king fastened one end of the cane to his leg. Here the Commentary story adds that the troop of monkeys finding this means of escape, passed out of the tree, treading on the back of the Bodhisat and along the cane. The king of Benares was filled with deep emotion to see how the Bodhisat endangered his own life for the safety of his troop, and became anxious to bring him down by some means and take care of him. He had the raft turned down the Ganges and a platform built there,

1 A mango tree according to the Pali Commentary story, though the commentator says that some authority knew it to be a banyan.

and made the Bodhisat come down gently. He made the monkey-king lie on a bed covered with an oiled skin, and sitting on a low seat, asked him to say what led him to make himself a bridge for other monkeys. The Bodhisat explained the matter to the king, and instructing and teaching him, died, and the king honoured the great monkey with obsequies befitting a king. Here the Sanskrit version relates altogether a different tale. It adds that the king, calling his men, said to them : "His body is ulcered and afflicted by the hurried movement of the feet of the troop of monkeys, terrified by the fear of death, and remaining for a long time in the same position and tension, he is so much tired out and exhausted that the monkey-king is unable even to move himself by his own exertion. You must be quick to bring him down by holding out a screen and cutting the cane along with the branch of the banyan tree by means of arrows." They carried out the king's order. The king made the Bodhisat lie down on a soft bed as he was brought down, and went to him when he began to feel better, and gently inquired as to what he was to the monkeys and what they were to him that he did so much for them. The Bodhisat, showing due respect to the king, answered his inquiry and said many sound words of wisdom.

In the Barhut scene the great tree is represented as a banyan and the great monkey appears with one end of the cane fastened to his leg as well as in an attitude of respect. It has nothing to do with the obsequies. The Barhut story ends precisely where the Sanskrit story ends. The position of one of the monkeys, passing to the other tree, shows that he fell from an unusual height on the Bodhisat's back. This artistic representation seems to have suggested a new point in the Commentary version that wicked Devadatta, then born as one of the monkeys, intentionally jumped from high and with force to break the heart of the Bodhisat.

41. Pl. XV.—S. Gate. Prasenajit Pillar. Lower Bas-relief. Side. [Scene 123]:—

Vijapi Vijādharo.[1]

"The spell-muttering Vidyādhara."

The Vidyādhara or artful magician demigod, referred to in the label, is standing on a rocky ground, strewn over with several small stones of varying shapes and sizes.

Demon's wife in intrigue with a Vidyādhara.

He stands beside a woman with blooming youth, who is seated on the lid of a big rectangular box, hanging down her right leg on one side of the box and holding a heart-shaped bunch of three ball-shaped flowers, her right hand lifted up towards her arm. It is not impossible that here the

1 Barua Sinha, No. 209.

bunch of flowers actually symbolises the human heart. The Vidyādhara is unwinding the cloth of his head-dress, which is an Indian turban. His armour bound up with his dagger, put in a sheath, is pendant from a tree behind him. The bas-relief with these details seems to illustrate a scene from the Samugga-Jātaka (F. 436), marrating how a demon (dānava-rakkhasa) was outwitted by a tricky Vidyādhara.

It is said that a man-eating demon was devoted to the Bodhisat, who, on the adoption of hermit-life, was living in a Himalayan forest, not far from the dwelling-cave of the former. The demon seized a lovely woman, with whom he fell in love. He carried her off to his cave and made her his wife. He arrayed her in robes and ornaments, and tried to please her by all possible means. In order to protect her, he took her with him wherever he went. He used to put her in a box which he swallowed, and so guarded her in his belly. One day he went to bathe carrying her in the box inside belly. Coming to a tank he threw up the box and taking her out of it, bathed and anointed her. After dressing her, he allowed her to enjoy herself in the open air. Without suspecting any harm, he went a little distance to bathe. Meanwhile the woman saw a Vāyu's son, a Vidyādhara, who was girt about with a dagger and was than walking through the air. She by a certain gesticulation of her hand, put in a certain position, signed to him, indicating her affection. Then and there the Vidyādhara descended to the ground. She placed him immediately in the box, and sat down upon it, waiting the approach of the demon. As the demon came near, she opened the box, and getting inside, lay over the Vidyādhara, wrapping her garment about him. The demon thinking it was only the woman inside the box, swallowed it, as usual, and set out for his cave. He came to see on his way the Bodhisat who skilfully acquainted him with the fact of presence of a dangerous rival within. He was greatly alarmed. Vidyādharas surely are full of tricks : supposing his sword should be in his hand, he will rip open my belly and make his escape." He forthwith threw up the box and placed it before him. As soon as the box was opened, the Vidyādhara muttering a spell (vijjaṁ parijapitvā) and seizing his dagger, sprang into the air and went away.

The bas-relief illustrates, among other details, the descent of the Vidyādhara on a sign being made by the woman. It represents his armour and dagger. It shows his preparations for getting inside the box, was awaiting the approach of the demon, who is unfortunately absent from the depicted scene.

42. Pl. XLIII. 6.—Plate XLVIII. 6 [Scen 124]:—Abode chātiyaṁ[1].

"At the water-pool."

This is the inscriptional heading of the second of the two scenes apparently

1 Barua Sinha, No. 210.

Son returns with victuals to comfort his helpless mother.

representing a single story. It is rather unusual that two scenes of the same story are distantly placed. The first scene, as noticed by Cunningham, consists of two elephants moving in opposite directions, the animal going to the right carrying a garland to deposit either at the foot of a Bodhi-tree or at the base of a stūpa, his open mouth showing his fat tongue in a very natural manner.[1] In the centre of the second scene he sees a tree to which three elephants are paying reverence, the tree being no other than amba or mango and the chaitya mentioned in the label being no other than the Chaitya-mango-tree.[2] Dr. Hoernle would have us interpret the label as referring to Arvuda-chaitya, the woodland-shrine on Mount Abu. But our rendering will show that the reference is only to a spot marked by a water-canal or water-pool.

We fail to understand how Cunningham makes out three elephants in the second scene, which, like the first scene, presents just two elephants, of whom the bigger one with long tusks is evidently male and the other of smaller size and shorter tusks is female. We need not suppose that in the first scene both the elephants are moving or that the male elephant going to the right is carrying a garland. It is difficult to ascertain the thing carried by him until we come to the second scene which represents in more prominently. It shows that the thing is no other than a bundle of lotus-fibres with lotuses at the top. The first scene presents the elephants in a standing position and places them in opposite directions. In the second scene, the elephants are placed in the same direction. The male elephant appears to have just arrived on the spot graced by the presence of a woodland-shrine, at the foot of which is a long water-canal or water-pool. He stands still holding within the fold of his trunk the bundle which he has carried, while the female elephant is seated on her legs facing the canal, with her trunk turned on her right side towards her back. If this be a correct study of details of the two scenes, we cannot resist the temptation of interpreting the bas-reliefs as representations of two situations of the Mātiposaka-Jātaka (F. 455), narrating how a virtuous elephant fulfilled under trying circumstances his filial duty towards his mother.

The Bodhisat was once born as an elephant in the Himalayan region. A magnificent beast he was, his body all white, with lordship over a herd of eighty thousand elephants and he was endowed with all qualities and virtues befitting a royal elephant. He had to look after his blind old mother. For her sake he did not even mind to forsake his lordship over the herd. Seeing that he was unable to

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 101. 2 Ibid, p. 94.

pay proper attention to his mother and the elephants of his herd were concerned only about their own interest, he went oway with her without the knowledge of others. He came to Mount Chaṇḍoraṇa, where he placed his mother in a cave of the hills, hard by a lotus-pool, and served her with wild-grown delicious fruits and roots. He happened to save a forester who lost his way only to pave the way for his capture by the latter later on. He was brought captive to Benares to be trained as a state-elephant. Though by the king's order he was given all fine food to eat, he did not take a morsel, tormented that he was by the thought of the wretched condition of his poor blind mother, having none to look after her in his absence. The king coming to know the fact, sympathised and released him immediately. Being free he hastened off to Mount Chaṇḍoraṇa, carrying cool water in the hole of his trunk to sprinkle over the body of his mother to refresh her in her starvation, and many lotus stalks and roots to feed her. On his arrival at the cave, he found his mother sleeping and fatigued. He took her by surprise. When water was sprinkled over her, she thought some wicked god was causing rain to trouble her. But soon she knew to her delight that her dear son was by her side to comfort her. "Rise mother !" said the son, "why should you there lie when your own, your son, has come !

So far as the Barhut scenes are concerned, the first one seems to represent the situation in which the Bodhisat is going out to procure food for his mother, while the second illustrates the return of the son to his mother with water and victuals.

43. Pl. XXVII. 12. [Scene 125]:—Ki[ṁ]nara-Jātakaṁ.[1]
"A Jātaka-episode of the Kinnaras."

In this small bas-relief, of which the lower portion and lower halves of the three actors are broken, a king is seen seated in his throne to the left, intimidating a pair of Kinnaras, who stand before him to the right. The movement of the king's right hand and rolling of his eyes are expressive of his anger and sternness. The poor Kinnaras stand on the left-hand side of the king in their utter helplessness, the male standing next to the king, holding his necklace with his right hand bent upwards, and the female standing on the left hand with her right. There is nothing to indicate that feathers grow round their bodies. They simply put on big leaves to cover their shame. They are at a loss as to what to say to the king, at whose mercy they now are. Serge d' Oldenburg and

Wisdom of the Kinnaras compels the king to release them.

1 Barua Sinha, No. 211. 2 Stūpa of Bharhut.

Professor Rhys Davids took it to be a scene from the Bhallāṭiya-Jātaka (F. 504)[1]. The objection to this identification is that the Bhallāṭiya-story does not lay the scene in a place where the king can be expected to be sitting in his throne. Indeed we cannot but agree with Dr. Hultzsch in identifying the scene with the episode of Kinnars in the Takkāriya-Jātaka (F. 481)[2] which is being narrated below :—

A hunter being once in the region of Himālaya captured a pair of Kinnaras, a Kinnara and his wife, whom he took and presented to the king of Benares, saying that they were experts in singing and dancing. The king who had never seen such beings before, was very pleased to have them. He rewarded the hunter and commanded the Kinnaras to sing and dance. Apprehending that they would not be able to convey the full sense of their song and that their song was bound to be a failure, they neither sang nor danced. The kings entreated them repeatedly. At last he grew ,angry and ordered to kill these creatures and cook them as food for him. Seeing the king was angry and determined to kill them, they humbly explained, one by one, the cause justifying their action. The king was so much pleased that he at once sent for the hunter, whom he commanded to set them free in the same place where they were captured.

44. Pl. XXV. 1 [Scene 126] :—Miga-Jātakaṁ.[3]

"Bodhisat's greatness in the deer-birth."

In the lower right corner of this medallion we see a large flooded river, flowing with a current that is unusually strong, and in the upper portion and the lower left corner is a charming deer-forest, where one can see three flowering trees, growing side by side, of which one to the right is covered with blossoms. A deer appears to have gone to the bank of the river from the lower left corner, looking out in the direction of the river and calling out some one in the water. This is the first phase. In the second phase we see this great deer swimming in the river, cleaving the current, lifting up his head far above water, and carrying a man on his back apparently with the intention of bringing him ashore. In the third phase we see in the lower left corner the great deer among his herd, roaming in the forest. He has suddenly halted to look back and ascertain the nature of something unusual that has reached his ears or attracted his attention. He wistfully looks back to find himself confronted with an impending danger of life. He finds two men at some distance behind him, the one in front fully stringing the bow, intending to shoot him

The deer-king frustrates the aim of the ungrateful man who betrays him and secures the boon of safety for himself and for his herd.

1 Buddhist India, p. 209. 2 JRAS, 1912. 3 Barua. Sinha, No. 212.

with an arrow which is put to the string, following the direction of the traitor-like man who stands a little behind him, pointing at the deer with the forefinger of his right hand. The first man in front has a sword put in a sheath and tied to the right side of his waist, and a bundle of arrows held up in front. In the fourth or last phase the great deer is to be seen seated majestically on his four legs, in an open ground, in the midst of the forest, with the tail stretched out behind and the head resting gently upon the uplifted neck. The full-grown and well-shaped body, the branching horns, and the delightfully prominent and bright eyes and dignified looks contribute all to the building up of his lofty personality. He sits with his noble demeanour facing the two men who, coming to him from the upper right corner, now stand before him, with joined hands, listening to the words of the deer-king. Dr. Hultzsch has ably pointed out that the details of this scene can be explained only by the Ruru-Jātaka (F. 482) and not by the Nigrodhamiga (F. 12) as suggested by Professor Rhys Davids. The Sanskrit version of the Ruru story in the Jātakamālā (No. 26) is substantially the same as that in Pāli. The two versions differ in some of the details forming the conclusion which is left to the imagination by the Barhut artist. The story in the main is as follows :—

The Bodhisat was then born as a deer of Ruru species. Having abandoned the herd, he was dwelling alone near a bend of the river, in a grove of Śāla trees mixed with fair-flowering mangoes. The skin of his body was of the colour of a well-varnishsd gold plate, his feet seemed as it were covered with lac. His tail was like the tail of a wild ox, his horns were as silver spirals, his eyes appeared like bright polished gems and his mouth looked like a ball of red cloth. The son of a merchant, oppressed by his creditors, threw himself into the Ganges, the torrent of which bore him away. At about midnight the deer-king heard a pitiful cry which seemed to be the voice of a man. From his resting place in the bush, he went down to the river bank and called out conveying a message of hope to the helpless man. He forthwith jumped into the river, swam to him cleaving the current, bore him to the bank placing him upon his back ; nay, he gave shelter to the man in his own dwelling-place for some days, entertaining him with wild fruits. When the man took leave of him, the good deer-king told him not to betray him to any king or great man. The man gave his word of honour that he would never tell any one anything about the deer-king's dwelling-place. But he soon proved to be an ungrateful traitor. Led away by greed of gain, he soon disclosed the secret of the golden deer to the king of Benares. With a great following, the king started, taking the treacherous man as guide to the dwelling-place of the Ruru-deer. The

traitor-guide led the king on, pointing with his hand. "There is the golden deer in that place yonder." The men who accompanied the king encircled the grove and made an outcry. The king with a certain number of others stood apart, and the traitor-guide also stood not far off. The deer-king heard the sound which appeared to be an outcry of a great host. He thought that in order to be safe, he must anyhow go where the king stood. So he rose and ran towards the king. As the king saw him coming, he put arrow to string, and stringing his bow, stood facing the Bodhisat. As he beheld the king, the great deer called out from distance, beseeching him to stand still and not to wound. Charmed by his honey-voice, the king let fall his bow and stood still in reverence. Now the Bodhisat came up to the king and talked pleasantly with him, standing on one side. All the host also dropped their weapons and came up, surrounding the king. "Who informed you of my dwelling-place here" ? the Bodhisat asked the king with a sweet voice. Just then the wicked man came closer and stood within hearing. The king pointed him out, saying, "There is he that informed me." "O mighty king," said the Bodhisat, "men say one thing with their lips and do another." But do not suppose that I am one of that kind," answered the king, "Please ask the boon of me, I will not deny it once I have promised you. Trust me." The king gave him the choice of a boon. The Bodhisat asked for a boon of safety for all creatures including himself. This boon the king granted, and fulfilled it at all costs.

45. Pl. XX. Gateway Pillar at Pataora. Side. Lower Relief [Scene 19] :—

Kinnarī resents the king's cowardly and shameless offer of love.

This represents a scenne of a helpless kinnarī turning a little aside to stare at a man, who is trying amorously to catch hold of her from behind. The absence of prominent pendant earrings and big ear-openings distinguishes the male figure as a human being from the Kinnara and other demigods, and angels. If these observations hold good, there can hardly be any doubt that the subject of the sculpture is a scene of the Chanda-Kinnara-Jātaka (F. 485), narrating how an amorous king miserably failed to force into his embrace a Kinnarī, whose husband he had shemelessly killed.

The Bodhisat was at the time a Kinnara by the name of Chandra, whose wife was Chandrā. The happy pair dwelt on Chandraparvata, the silver-mountain in the Himalayan region. The king of Benares came to this mountain, all alone, dressed in two yellow robes, and armed with five weapons, for hunting. It was then a hot season, during which the pair of Kinnaras came down from the mountain and wandered about by a stream. One day, they went down into the stream at a certain halting place and scattered flowers, the husband played upon it and sang with a

honey voice, which the wife waving her soft hands danced hard by, singing withal. The king startled by the sweet sound, descended from the hill to watch the playful music of the Kinnara pair. But he soon fell in love with the Kinnarī, and intending to have her as his wife, stealthily shot her husband, who passed away on the spot with a heavy sigh of grief. She soon come to know the tragic fate that befell the Kinnara, her lord. She suddenly cried out aloud, which was natural to a person overtaken by a rude shock of pain. The king knowing her husband was dead, came out and showed himself. At she beheld him, she trembled in fear and took to flight. Standing upon the hill-top, she condemned the king's cowardly sin. The king going up to her, tried to comfort her, tempting her at the same time with the future joy of her as his queen. "No, thou must not come near me !" she cried in the lion-roar, declaiming the king, I will rather slay myself than yield myself to thy passion." The king found her unyielding. He let her alone, and went away. As he left the spot, she came down from the hill to mourn over the body of her husband, whom she brought back to life by virtue of the power of her love and innocence.

The Barhut sculpture just depicts the scene of the king comforting the Kinnarī, who is naramukhī, in spite of the fact that she is described in the Birth-story as a brute[1].

46. Pl. XLVIII. 7 [Scene 127] :—Bhisaharaniya-Jātakaṁ.[2]
"The Jātaka-episode of lotus-fibre-stealing."

In this coping-panel Cunningham sees five actors : a Ṛishi or male ascetic, a female ascetic, a layman, an elephant, and a monkey. The Ṛishi and the monkey are both seated and are both speaking. The female ascetic, whose right shoulder is bare, is addressing the Ṛishi and the layman is making an offering of a bundle of lotus-stalks. Behind the Ṛishi is his hut.[3] Here we see an ascetic, seated cross-legged on a skin spread over a flat stone, facing a female ascetic, a monkey, a high personage and an elephant. Behind him are his leaf-hut and some plantain or benana trees. The ascetic remains sitting, raising his right hand before his eyes, placing his thumb upon his held out palm. The ascetic is evidently making an oath in the presence of others. The monkey in a kneeling posture and in a similar attitude of right-hand, is making an oath before the ascetic. The female ascetic, holding out the palm of her right hand, is also trying to convince the ascetic of some truth. The elephant, standing

Śakra appears before the noble ascetic and confesses that it was he who concealed the bundle of lotus-stalks.

1 See Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. X. No. 2, June, 1934, for a full explanatory note by Jitendra Nath Banerjee on the Gandhāra sculpture differently illustrating the same Birth-story. The connexion of the Gandhāra sculpture with the Pāli Jātaka in question was suggested to Mr. Banerjee by the author.

2 Barua Sinha, No. 213. 3 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 79.

behind all, speaks out to prove his innocence. The high personage standing behind the monkey, holds out a bundle of lotus-fibres, as it were to assure the ascetic and his followers that they were doing much ado for nothing. Behind this man is a beautiful full-bloom lotus which serves as an ornamentation as well as an indication for the existence of a lake. The inscription leads us to look here for the illustration of an incident of lotus-fibre stealing. There was a great mystery over the disappearance of a bundle of lotus-stalks, and this was removed when the high personage produced it before all. The scene as pointed out by Professor Rhys Davids and other scholars, is no other than that of the Bhisa-Jātaka (F. 488). The Sanskrit version in the Jātakamālā (No. 19) bears the title Bisa-Jātaka. It relates :—

The Bodhisat was then born as the eldest son of a wealthy Brahmin. After his parents' death he renounced the world, he retired into the Himālaya region taking with him his six brothers, his sister, two servants—one male, one female, and one companion. An elephant, a monkey and the deity that dwelt in the tree of his hermitage became his devotees. His hermitage was built in a delightsome spot near a lotus-lake. Every day some one among his brothers and male servant and companion, went by turns to gather fruits and roots. He whose turn it was would bring in the provender, and laying on a flat stone would make eleven portions of it ; then making the gong sound he would take his own portion and depart to his own place of dwelling. At the gong sound others would come up to take his or her allotted portion of the find. After a time they gathered lotus-fibres and ate them, apportioning them as usual. In order to test their virtue, Śakra caused the great ascetic's share to disappear on three successive days. The Bodhisat failing to understand the cause, sounded upon the gong at evening, when all the inmates came together. He was told by each of the three brothers who brought in the food on those three days that he took care to set aside the share of the eldest. He could suspect none. So the disappearance of the ascetic's share of lotus-fibres became a great problem. The deity came out and sat down in their midst. The elephant, too, came and stood on one side. The monkey also came and stood on one side. They all decided to prove their innocence by solemn oath. Each of them made an oath. The Bodhisat also made an oath on his part to assure others that he had not said that the food was not there when it was. When they had finished making their oath thus, Śakra appeared in their midst to assure them that it was he who made the lotus-fibres disappear, and return to his heaven, praising them for their sincerity.

The ascetic's brothers, servants, and companion do not appear in the Barhut scene, and that evidently for want of space.

47. Pl. XXVI. 6 [Scene 128] :—Chadaṁtiya-Jātakaṁ.[1]

"Bodhisat's suffering in his birth as six-tusked elephant."

Here is a tall and large banyan tree that divides the medallion into two halves. The tree shows several hanging roots and four main branches that spread in four main branches that spread in four directions. In the upper right corner we see an elephant who alertly looks out, holding out his trunk in front. Two other positions lower below go to show that the same elephant has now come up to the foot of the tree and approached a hunter who is seen standing in the left half, under the cover of the tree. From the lower positions it is clear that the elephant is a six-tusked beast with a lotus ornament on his forehead. In the fourth position the elephant appears in the left half and slightly bends down his body to enable the hunter to seize his tusks and saw them off. The hunter appears in an ordinary human dress, with a turban on his head. There is nothing unusual in the height or size of the elephant. The bow and pointed arrows are lying on the ground before the hunter. The illustrated scene, as appears from its label, is one of the Chaddanta-Jātaka (F. 514) which is a favourite theme of early Buddhist art, and reaches us in several versions. We need not here institute a comparison of different literary versions[2] and artistic representations.[3] But we must observe that here, as perceived by Cunningham,[4] we have a simple representation of a simpler story, much simpler than the Pali Commentary version, even simpler than the Pali Canonical legend as we find it reproduced in the Commentary in the form of an exquisite ballad. The earlier Canonical legend here contemplated can be easily gleaned from its later recast, and it relates :—

The noble elephant suffers the pain of death to yield his tusks to a hunter employed by a queen.

The Bodhisat was then born as a six-tusked mighty elephant, all white, and guarded by a large herd of windswift elephants with tusks as big as chariot-poles. He lived with his attendant herd on a golden cliff beyond seven long mountain ranges in the north. Beneath this cliff was a royal banyan tree whose roots supported eight thousand spreading shoots. Hard by was a deep pool where the royal beast used to bathe and swim. A queen saw this elephant in a dream, and would have his tusks at all costs. A bold royal hunter was sent to the golden cliff who marked the place where the elephant dwelt and the pool where he bathed

1 Barua Sinha, No. 217.

2 See M. L. Feer's comparative study of five literary versions in JA for 1895, Tome V., N.S.

3 See M. Foucher's comparative study of artistic representations in his Beginnings of Early Buddhist Art.

4 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 64.

and swam. The hunter sank a pit near the pool, and as the elephant passed by, discharged a mighty shaft. Though wounded, the noble being remained unruffled in spirit, and approaching the man, asked him what his object was in slaying him thus. On being told that he came there for his tusks, the elephant said :—

"Rich store of goodly tusks have I,
Relics of my dead ancestry,
And this well knows that cursed dame,
'Tis at my life the wretch doth aim.
Rise, hunter, and or ere I die,
Saw off these tusks of ivory :
Go bid the shrew be of good cheer,
The beast is slain ; his tusks are here."

Forthwith the hunter began to saw off the shining tusks from the noble creature's jaw, and hastened back home with the matchless prize, and handed it over to the queen, saying :

"Here are his tusks : the beast is dead."

The Vāyu-Purāṇa (LXIX. 222) represents the Shaḍdanta as a hybrid, the ākulika or nervous class of elephants, characterised by elongated lower lips, charming looks, black colour, handsomeness, august shape and broad face. In the Jātaka descriptions these elephants appear to be all white in colour. The Canonical description makes it clear that the elephant-king was called Chaddanta because he possessed six tusks (kuñjaro chabbisāṇo). In the Barhut sculpture the elephant is decidedly six-tusked. In all the Sanskrit Buddhist versions Shaḍdanta or Six-tusked is the substitute for Chaddanta. But the Pali Commentary version shows a grand ingenuity in explaining Chaddanta as meaning a denizen of a place near the Chaddanta lake, forgetting the fact that the lake itself derived its name from the six-tusked elephants that dwelt near it. The Barhut artist represents the royal banyan as a tree with four main branches, and this is a point of agreement with the Commentary story. But it is a problem whether the art influenced the literature or vice versa.

48. Pl. XXIII. 5. [Scene 129] :—This is a spirited scene where Cunningham sees on the right a man hurling a large stone at a monkey who clasps him by his legs. In the middle he sees a monkey trying to escape up a tree from a man who clings tenaciously to his back. The third monkey is lying along the branch of a tree with his head.

A good monkey saves the life of a man who threw a stone to break his head.

It is not correct to say that there are three monkeys and two men, for in truth one monkey and one man have been represented in three successive phases of the same sculptured story. In the first phase the long-tailed monkey seated on the left on a branch of a fruit-tree, growing upon a rocky mountain, is gazing downwards at the man who is lying helpless far below. In the second phase, shown in the middle, the monkey is climbing up a creeping plant or a hanging branch of a tree, carrying on his back the man who holds him fast, clasping his neck by his hands. In the third phase on the right the man is about to throw a stone, aiming at the head of the monkey who appears to rest, being tired and exhausted. Dr. Hultzsch has rightly identified the scene with the Mahākapi-Jātaka (F. 516),[2] of which the Sanskrit version is to be found in the Jātakamālā (No. 24). This, as will appear from the following narration, is a simple but pathetic story of a compassionate monkey suffering brutally at the hands of an ungrateful man, whose life he saved :—

The Bodhisat then came to birth as a monkey, a long-tailed ape, who lived alone in the cavity of a rocky precipice. A Brahmin husbandman roamed through the pathless jungle tracts to seek his oxen, and was lost in the maze of a vast wilderness. Full seven days passed away, and he had nothing to eat or drink. He seeing at last a Tinduka tree that had grown over that rocky precipice, climbed upon it to eat the fruits that were hanging from its hanging branches. The branch upon which his body rested suddenly broke, and he fell into a hell-like abyss where he lay utterly helpless for ten days. While going from bough to bough in search of fruits, the good monkey caught sight of the unfortunate man who was lying far below. The Brahmin eagerly looked up to him for help, and said that he would pour all blessings upon him if he could find a way of saving him. The monkey tried his strength, and coming down, asked the Brahmin to climb upon his back, cast his arms upon his neck and hold him fast, while he unlifted him from the rocky fastness. The Brahmin did as he was advised. The monkey having thus hauled the man out, felt tired and wanted to sleep. He requested the man to stand as guard by his side while he slept. As he was sleeping, an evil thought arose in the heart of the Brahmin, and led by it, he picked up a stone which he hurled at the monkey, his benefactor, meaning to break his head. Though the stone hit the monkey's head, failed to kill him. The monkey knowing the man's cruel intention, quickly bounded up a tree, and sitting upon a branch, reproached and cursed the ungrateful sinner.

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 105. 2 JRAS, 1912.

49. Pl. XLVI. 4. [Scene 130] :—Here Cunningham sees two men and one woman, who are standing before a seated ascetic. Behind the Ṛishi is his hermitage. The men are standing in a respectful attitude with their hands crossed on their breasts, while the woman is eagerly listening to the words of the sage, who is addressing them with his forefinger raised. The present scene may perhaps be intended to picture the arrival of Rāma, Sītā and Lakshmaṇa at the hermitage of the sage Bharadvāja.[1]

At a suggestion from a superstitious woman, the Brahmin minister, and subsequently the king spat on the matted hair of a guileless ascetic to get rid of sin.

This description and identification are far from being correct. The ascetic with his matted hair, gracefully fastened into a knot directly on the back of his head, is seated on one side of his cottage, keeping his legs erect, in front within a noose passing round his body. Like his garment, his seat seems to be made of bark. It may be that he is sitting upon his upper garment, spread on the ground. He sits with his head slightly reclined to his left side, and attention fixed upon a ring-like object, say, a mystic-circle (kasiṇa-maṇḍala), grasped with two hands from two sides, and held up. His cottage is a four-sided hut, with a roof of four blocks, joined together and meeting in a point at the top. It is typically a kūṭāgāra or one-peaked house, showing a kamaṇḍalu near the door in front. Of the two men, one on the left hand side of the ascetic and a tree, calmly stands, placing his left hand upon his breast, while the second man stands in a slightly kneeling posture, holding his hands across his breast, the palm of his right hand placed on the back of his left hand. Both appear to be royal personages. But the attitude of the hands of the second man is not that of reverent supplication. The robust woman who stands behind the second man, holding the hip-belt with her left hand, looks like a courtezan rather than a wife or a queen. The underlying story is no other than an episode of the Sarabhaṅga-Jātaka (F. 522), in which a courtezan, a Brahmin minister and a king are found guilty of having subjected an innocent ascetic to humiliation.

One of Ṛishi Śarabhaṅga's disciples, Kṛiśavatsa by name, lived in a park, in the city of Kumbhavatī in the dominion of King Daṇḍaki. A royal courtezan, who was deposed from her position, took him to be an Ill Luck. The king, calling her to mind, restored her to her position. She fondly believed that she got back her former position because she had got rid of her sin on the person of the Ill Luck. Not long after the king deposed his Brahmin chaplain and minister from his office,

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 103.

and reinstated him. He, too, believed that he recovered his honour because he had got rid of his sin in the same way, following the advice of the courtezan. Now came the turn of the king. A disturbance broke out on his frontier, and he went forth with a division of his army to fight. At the advice of his chaplain and minister, he went into the park. He first of all nibbled his tooth-stick and let his spittle and the stick fall on the ascetic's matted hair, and bathed his head. The ascetic patiently endured this humiliation, bearing no evil thought. But the gods were angry enough to destroy the king on the seventh day with all his subjects and kingdom. Ṛishi Śarabhaṅga was then the Great Being.

The Barhut bas-relief represents a scene where the king is seen getting rid of his sin, after his Brahmin minister and courtezan had done it already.

50. Pl. XXVI. 7. [Scene 131] :—Isisiṁgiya-Jātakaṁ.[1]

"Ṛishyaśṛiṅga-Jātaka".

"The scene of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga's birth".

Here in the upper half we see an aged hermit seated on his legs in the right, and his cottage in the left. Between the hermit and his cottage is a fire-place where the sacred fire is kept burning. A little higher up, between the hermit and the fire, there is to be seen on the ground an earthen pot covered with an earthen lid, and between the fire and the cottage, one can see two earthen bowls with handled earthen lids hanging in nets of cords from a horizontally fixed up bamboo pole or wooden bar. The locks of matted hair are coiled, piled up and knotted on the hermit's head. The hermit shows long board and mustache on his face, and wears two garments of bhūrja leaves, the upper garment tied round his body as a covering for his breast. He represents indeed a typical Vedic ascetic and fire-worshipper. His cottage is a one-peaked house, the vaulted roof of which is thatched with bhūrja leaves in a distinct style, where we see the roof is divided into some layers, each layer consisting of several square slices. While the hermit is engaged in attending to the sacred fire, his curiosity is aroused by a strange sight below, namely, the struggle of a fully developed and healthy human child to come out of the womb of a doe. The second position shows that the hermit has come to rescue the child, apparently crawling on the ground or walking on his knees and stretching out his hands. The strangest way in which the doe attained maternity and the hermit became instrumental in bringing it about is naively represented in the lower right corner where the hermit is found sitting on

Ṛishyaśṛiṅga takes his birth in the womb of a doe.

1 Barua Sinha, No. 218.

his legs, and the doe is seen drinking water from his mingeing place. The ground outside the cottage appears to be a grassy woodland. Cunningham has identified the scene with the Nalinikā-Jātaka (F. 526)[1], and Prof. Rhys Davids with the Alambusā (F. 523)[2]. The Sanskrit counterparts with the very same titles are to be found in the Mahāvastu. Such counterparts can also be traced in the Avadānakalpalatā, where the Alambusā story is entitled Ekaśṛṅgāvadāna. We identify the scene with the story of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga's birth from a doe which is common to the two Jātakas, and suspect that the Alambusā and the Nalinikā Jātakas represent just two phases of one and the same original legend of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga, corresponding to the Ṛishyaśṛiṅga story in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, preferably to that in the former. In the Buddhist treatment the Nalinikā-Jātaka remains a counterpart of the Great Epic legend, and it is possible that the phase represented in the Alambusā-Jātaka resulted from a purely Buddhist manipulation. Taking the two Jātakas together, the story of Ṛishyaśṛiṅga can be summarised thus :—

The Bodhisat was then born in Benares as a noble and learned Brahmin who adopted the ascetic life, and lived in a forest home in the Himalayas. His pretty leaf-hut could be seen in the midst of plantain and bhūrja trees, and smoke could be seen rising from the flame of fire nursed by him. A certain doe in the hermit's mingeing place attained maternity as a result of eating grass and drinking water mingled with his semen. Henceforth the doe became enamoured of him and always resorted to the spot near his hermitage. The wise hermit examining into the matter learned the facts of the case. In due course of time the doe gave birth to a male child, whom the Bodhisat watched over with a father's affection. The child was named Isisiṅga or Ṛishyaśṛiṅga. When the lad reached years of discretion, he was admitted to holy orders. His father kept him far out of the reach of women and fairies, and strongly advised him not to be tempted by them. But so earnest the young ascetic was in his practice that Śakra trembled in his throne, and soon sent down Alambushṣā, the most accomplished among the heavenly nymphs, to tempt him while his father was absent from the hermitage, and failing thereby to achieve his aim, instigated the king of Benares in a dream to send his daughter to seduce the innocent youth as a means of compelling the gods to pour down rain. Ṛishyaśṛiṅga of the Buddhist story was tempted without being overcome by temptation. Neither the princess nor the nymph was successful by all their wiles and guiles and pleasing arts to lead him astray from his path.

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 64-65. 2 Buddhist India, p. 209.

The Barhut title Isisiṁgiya-Jātaka[1] indicates that Ṛishyaśṛiṅga himself was the hero of the sculptured story, and not his father. The fact that the hermitage was marked by the growth of bhūrja plants is brought out by the hermit's garments and the material with which the roof of his cottage has been thatched.

51. Pl. XXVII. 14. [Scene 132] :—Cunningham has read the details of this scene with his strong bias for the Ramayanic story of Rāma and his wanderings. He sees in it Bharata standing in front of Rāma and Sītā, holding an umbrella and a pair of shoes in his right hand, and a pole in his left. The pole rests on Bharata's shoulder, while in mid-front a dog, apparently belonging to Rāma, sits at his feet facing Bharata.[2]

The good ascetic does not enter the palace, being warned by a dog.

The upper left and the lower right corners of this Coping-panel are slightly injured. The uninjured portion presents the front view of a building with its long roof. In the left half we see a man and a woman in front of this building, either walking on, the latter behind the former, or standing together, the latter holding with her left hand the right hand of the former. The closed fist of the man's left hand and the general attitude of the upraised forefingers of their right hands are clearly expressive of a grim-determination to teach a proper lesson to some one. In the middle we see a big dog guarding the entrance or the way leading to the palatial residence. This dog seeing an ascetic coming, sits on its haunches or leans forward on its forelegs, and loudly barks uplifting its head, apparently meaning to stop the stranger on the way. The ascetic, knowing not the cause, pauses to understand the dog's intention. He solemnly stands, with his genial presence, looking at the dog. It is he who carries a sunshade and a pair of shoes in his right hand, and a single or a triple staff in his left. The staff rests over his left shoulder, and his bowl is suspended from it in a net of cord which is fastened to its upper end. Dr. Hultzsch has rightly identified the scene with the Mahābodhi-Jātaka (F. 528,) the Sanskrit version of which is to be found in the Jātakamālā (No. 33). Instead of one, we must count two versions in Pali, viz., the Canonical and the Commentary. The Canonical ballad itself, as reproduced in the Commentary, shows two stages in its growth, it appearing in its second or final stage to be a combination of two distinct legends or dialogues in verse, the one of which supplies us with a literary counterpart of the Barhut story, and the other represents a Buddhist fabrication exposing the pernicious moral consequences of the doctrines of some of the Indian teachers who were contemporaries of Buddha and figure in Buddhist literature as Heretics. The very title Mahābodhi-

1 Buddhaghosa refers to it as Migasiṅgi-Jātaka.

2 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 74.

Jātaka betrays the smuggling hand of the Buddhist. The sculptured scene represents a simple episode which is common to all the versions of the Jātaka, and the one to which the title Mahābodhi is inapplicable. Unfortunately, there is no inscription to guide us in our decision as to whether the Jātaka, as known to the Barhut sculptor, bore the title Mahābodhi or a title other than Mahābodhi. The Birth-story, represented by the Canonical ballad in its earlier form, fully explains the details of the Barhut scene as will appear from the following narration :—

The Bodhisat was then a holy 'ascetic of wandering mendicant vow, a Parivrājaka of ripe wisdom and calm demeanour, equipped with such requisites as the antelope's skin, the staff, the umbrella, the shoes, the hook, the bowl and the cloak. He lived for twelve years in the royal park near the city of Benares, coming to the palace to beg his daily food, being entertained and honoured by the king, sitting on 'the royal couch and sharing the royal food. The king, who was so long his devotee and admirer, began to suspect a great harm from him, and wanted to get rid of him and drive him away by means of diminishing the honours paid to him day after day. On the first day after this he was served with royal food but offered a bare couch to sit upon. The next day when he came, he was offered the bare couch but served with mixed food, the food prepared for the king along with that prepared for others. On the third day he was let off with a quantity of mixed food from the head of the stairs. On the fourth day he was offered some broth made of rice dust, and that on the terrace below. "How is it", the king thought, "that this ascetic had not gone away though he knew that the honours paid to him diminished day after day ? His motive must be something else than honours," Thus taking him to be a mischievous visitor and a dangerous enemy, the king employed some men to kill him when he came and stood inside the door. As the king after his evening meal lay on the royal couch, he felt the pang of a guilty conscience. Getting no comfort in his bed he rolled about from side to side, without exchanging a single word with the chief queen who lay beside him. "How is it, Sire, that you do not say a word to me ? Have I in any way offended you ?" "No, lady," he said, "but they tell me the mendicant has become an enemy of ours, and I have ordered my men to cutt off his head when he comes to the palace to-morrow." She comforted him, saying, "If, Sire, he is your enemy, why do you grieve at killing him ? Your own safety must be attended to, even if the enemy you slay is your own son." Their conversation was overheard by the dog who guarded the palace door. Early next morning the dog lay with his head on the threshhold, watching the road by which the Bodhisat came. The holy ascetic came at the usual hour from the royal park and approached the palace door. The dog seeing him opened his

mouth and showed his white teeth and gave a loud bark to warm him of the danger inside. The ascetic understood what the dog meat to say. He noticed the change in treatment day after day, and knew at once that some one had slandered him to the king. So he was prepared beforehand to go away, and waited a few days only to ascertain what the matter was. The friendly service of the dog proved to be a sufficient warning for him to depart. As he was going away, the king standing at the door, with the queen beside him, inquired :

What mean these things, umbrella, shoes, skin-robe and staff in hand ?
What of this cloak and bowl and hook ? I fain would understand
Why in hot haste thou wouldst depart and to what far-off land."

The ascetic replied :

"These twelve long years I've dwelt, O king, within thy royal park;
And never once before to-day this hound was known to bark.
To-day he shows his teeth so white, defiant now and proud,
And hearing what thou toldst the queen, to warm me, barks aloud."

The king confessed :

"The sin was mine : thee, holy sir, my purpose was to slay ;
But now I favour thee once more, and fain would have thee stay."

The ascetic said :

"My food of old was pure and white, next motely 'twas in hue,
Now it is brown as brown can be. 'Tis time that I withdrew.
First on the dais, then upstairs and last below I dine ;
Before I'm thrust out neck and crop my place I will resign.
Who stay too long find oftentimes that friend is changed to foe ;
So ere I lose thy friendship I will take my leave and go."

The king said :

"Though I with folded hands beseech, thou will not lend an ear,
Thou hast no word for us to whom thy service would be dear,
I crave one favour : come again and pay a visit here."

The ascetic said :

"If nothing comes to snap our life, O king, if thou and I
Still live, O fosterer of thy realm, perhaps I'll hither fly,
And we may see each other yet, as days and nights go by."

Thus the ascetic took leave of the king and went away, exhorting the king to be good, vigilant and righteous in discharging his duties. Here ends the Canonical

ballad in its earlier form, and here also ends the story of the sculptured scene. The hope held out to the king by the ascestic that he might revisit the place and they might see each other served as a peg for the second episode, developed somewhat differently in the three versions.

51. Pl. XLV. 3 [Scene 133] :—The scene is thus described by Cunningham :

"A sage, with his right shoulder bare, is seated on a morha, with his right leg raised, in the Indian fashion, and his left foot resting on a footstool. In the middle stands a female, who is apparently arguing with the sage, as both have their right forefingers raised as if addressing each other. To the right a female is leaving the scene. There is nothing to attract special attention in this sculpture, save perhaps the simple dressing of the women's hair, which is merely combed down the back of the head and fastened in a knot behind the neck."[1]

The queen convinces the king of her maternity.

The departing figure may not be a female.[2] The male figure in front of the female in the middle is not perhaps seated on a morha but on a seat looking like a bedstead or a couch. The female has her left hand placed on her waist-cloth covering the lower part of her abdomen, which is very prominent. She looks as if eager to explain with the upraised forefinger of her right hand some important matter to him, but he does not care even to look at her and the expression of his right hand suggests that he is not convinced of the truth of her story, or that he is not willing to believe her. If all these conjectures be right, the scene can be rendered thoroughly explicable in the light of the first part of the Kuśa-Jātaka (No. 531), describing the circumstances of the birth of Prince Kuśa.

The story relates that, long ago, the subjects of king Okkāka or Īkshvāku of the Malla country, were very anxious to see him leave at his death a descendant to continue his line. Happy and prosperous that they all were under his rule, they could not be satisfied with the idea that he should not have a son born to him before his death. The king who was always bent upon doing all that he could to please his subjects, gladly consented to try all rightful means, in accordance with the rules of ancient morality, to obtain the birth of a son even sending out his chief queen Sīlavatī[3] into the streets for a week as a solemn act under religious sanction (dharma-

1 Stūpa of Bharhut. p. 102.

2 The mere representation of hair combed down the back of the head and fastened in a knot behind the neck cannot be regarded, according to the Barhut convention, as the characteristic of a female figure. Such a way of dressing the hair is not peculiar to women.

3 Alindadevi, according to the Mahāvastu-story.

nāṭaka)[1]. By the power of the queen's virtue the abode of Śakra, king of the gods, began to glow, and Śakra, determined not to allow the virtuous queen to be molested by the mob appeared in the disguise of an aged Brahmin carrying her off as she was let out.[2] Śakra transported the queen in an unconscious state to his abode, the heaven of the Thirty-three, where he granted her a boon of two sons, one of whom would be ugly but wise, and the other handsome but a fool. The queen preferred to have the ugly son first. Śakra presented her with a piece of kuśa grass, a heavenly robe and sandal wood, the flower of the coral tree and a Kokanada lute. Thereafter she was transported back to the king's bed-chamber and laid down on the same couch with the king. Śakra, disguised of course as the aged Brahmin touched her person with his thumb and at that moment a god from the heaven of the Thirty-three descended and took birth in her womb. He then straightway went back to his heaven. The wise queen knew that she had conceived. The king on waking was surprised to see her and asked who had brought her there. He could not believe when she told him that she was brought there by Śakra. "With my own eyes," he exclaimed, "I saw an aged Brahmin carry you off. Why do you try to deceive me ?" She first showed him the kuśa grass as a proof, which failed to convince him. But on being shown her heavenly robes, he believed her. But he was really concerned about her motherhood and was exceedingly glad when the queen assured him of her maternity.[3]

Now, examined in the light of this story, the bas-relief can be explained thus : the departing figure, a male or a female, is Śakra in disguise, quickly returning to his heaven ; the male figure seated on a couch is King Īkshvāku in an attitude suggestive of disbelief in what the woman before him is telling him ; this woman is no other than his chief queen Silavatī or Alindadevī.

There is a Sanskrit version of the story of Kuśa in the Mahāvastu,[4] which differs in many important details from the Pāli. It is difficult to ascertain whether the Barhut sculpture follows the Pāli or the Sanskrit version.

1 The story records three successive attempts. First the dancing girls were turned out ; then the court-ladies, lastly the chief queen herself. The details are extraordinary but difficult to render with grace or even the original nāivety.

2 With ribald details in the original after the style of Shakespeare's witticisms.

3 The immorality of the story as a conte drolatique need not prejudice the reader. In most of the Barhut sculptures, the Buddhist Birth-stories represented by the sculptor are not necessarily moral ones. For instance, the story of Isisiṃgiya or Ṛishyasriṅga is depicted only by the representation of the first part relating to the birth of the ascetic from a doe.

4 Mahāvastu, Senart's Ed, II. pp. 420 ff. See Rajendra Lāla Mitra's 'Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal, 'pp. 142 ff ; also pp. 110 and 316.

52. Pl. XXV. 4 [Scene 134] :—Mugapakaya-Jātakaṁ.[1]

"The Jātaka where wisdom ripens in silence."

The prince, pretending to be cripple, when he is about to be buried, being carried to a forest in a chariot and becomes an ascetic charioteer.

In the upper left corner of this medallion is a palace or a palace gate, in front of which are two men standing, either facing each other or both facing a chariot kept standing in the lower left corner. Four caparisoned horses are yoked to the chariot in which a man is seen seated cross-legged with a grown up boy held up on his hands. In the lower right corner a man, say the charrioteer, stands on the ground in a reflective mood, placing his right hand upon his breast, while an ascetic is seen departing on his left side. In the last phase the ascetic is found seated cross-legged with his matted hair and bark garments, the upper and the lower, between two trees in a forest, addressing a royal personage who stands before him in the left in the upper right corner, with joined hands and a number of men standing behind him. The Barhut sculpture evidently represents the central episode of the Mūgapakkha or Temiya Jātaka (F. 540), as well appear from the following narration :—

The Bodhisat was then born as Prince Temiya into the family of the king of Benares. Recollecting the torments he suffered in hells in his previous births, he pretended to be dumb, deaf and incapable idiot. His birth filled the heart of the king and of the people with joy, while his incapacity and dumbness caused them much sorrow and shame. When he was born, the foretellers declared him to be a prince of fortunate and auspicious marks. But when they were again consulted after sixteen years, they altered their verdict and advised the king to bury him as an ill-luck in a charnel-field, conveying him there in an unlucky chariot drawn by some unlucky horses. The king summoning his charioteer, ordered him to take the prince to a charnel-field, as advised by the fortune-tellers, and bury him after breaking his head. In the early morning, the charioteer yoked the chariot, made it stand at the gate, and entered the royal bedchamber where the queen lay embracing her dear son. He came down from the palace, lifting the prince up like a bundle of flowers, and mounted the chariot. He thought of driving the chariot, as ordered by the king, to the western gate, but being confounded by the unseen power of the god, he led his chariot by a wrong way and passed out of the city by the eastern gate and reached the end of a forest which appeared to him to be the channel-field. He, leaving the prince in the chariot, alighted from it to dig the hole with a

---

1 Barua Sinha No. 221.

spade. The prince who had hitherto never moved his hands nor feet, moved about and alighting from the chariot, went up to the hole which the charioteer was digging. The charioteer looked up and was astonished to behold a glorious human form. He found forthwith that the prince so long pretended to be what he was not. The prince told him many words of wisdom which opened his eyes. He tried in vain to persuade the prince to go back to the palace, for he had already made up his mind to become an acestic. Śakra sent down Viśvakarmā to build a hermitage in a grove of trees. The prince entered the leaf-hut to put on the red bark garments, the upper and under, throwing the black antelope skin on his shoulder, tying up his matted hair, and carrying a pole on his shoulder and a staff in his hand. As a full-dressed ascetic he went out and returned to the hut, and sitting on a rugged mat, he became lost in meditation. The charioteer returning to the palace, informed the king of all that he had seen. The king in a large procession hastened to the spot. The story relates that the queen, too, came there, surrounded by the royal ladies. The king walked on foot into the hermitage, and respectfully greeted the ascetic who came out of his hut to greet the king with courtesy. In vain the king persuaded the ascetic to revert to the prince life. The ascetic, on the contrary, made such an appeal that the king could not but adopt ascetic life with all of his household and kingdom. In the Barhut scene the queen's part is dispensed with. Here the king alone appears in the hermitage with the people behind him.

53. Pl. XLIV. 2 [Scene 135] :—Usukāro Janako rājā Sivalādevi.[1]

"The arrow-maker, King Janaka, Queen Sīvalī."

The instruction from the arrow-maker's explanation of his method of work enables King Janaka to get rid of Queen Sīvalī pursuing him.

In this scene Cunningham notices three figures, each with a label overhead giving the name. The chief figure is of a royal personage seated to the left, and before him stand two others, a male and a female. The name of the seated figure in the left is lost, leaving the trace of the first letter which can be read as 'U' or 'B'. The name in the middle is 'Janako rājā', and that to the right 'Sivalā devi', The bas-relief apparently represents a scene of the Mahājanaka-Jātaka (F. 539), where Prince Janaka performed the required feats of bending and unbending the great bow to be united to the beautiful and youthful Princess Sīvalī.[2]

We fail to understand how the man seated to the left can be a royal personage. He is apparently a person whose business it is to make and test arrows. The two missing letters of the first name, as restored by Dr. Hultzsch, go to show that he is

1 Barua Sinha No. 219. 2 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 95.

an arrow-maker (usukāra). He sits before a fire-pan, resting his feet on a piece of stone, looking like a foot-stool at the door of a house. He is deeply engaged in his work, baking an arrow in the fire-pan and straitening it, and carefully looking at it, with his right eye opened and left eye closed, the arrow being slantingly held up, grasping it with his two hands from two sides. King Janaka eagerly stands before him, with his great personality upraising his right hand, bending his left hand and raising its forefinger. His gait indicates that he has just reached the spot and halted, and chanced upon a curious sight, while Queen Sīvalī is still pursuing and following him, with the tressy folds of her beautiful head-dress hanging hehind and flapping, which is expressive of her quick movements. We cannot but agree with Dr. Hultzsch in identifying the scene with an episode of the Mahājanaka-Jātaka, in which King Janaka, Queen Sīvali and an arrow-maker are the three actors. A similar episode, fetching the same moral, occurs in the Śāntiparva of the Great Epic, Ch. 178.[1] The Jātaka-episode is as follows :—

King Janaka left the world to adopt the life of an ascetic. Queen Sīvalī followed him as he was retiring. They entered a city, where the king going on his begging round, reached the door of the house of an arrow-maker, while the queen stood on one side. The arrow-maker was busy with his work. He heating an arrow in a coal pan, melted it with some rice-gruel, and closing one eye, was looking with other while he made the arrow straight. The King inquired, going up to him :

"One eye thou closest and dost gaze
with the other sideways.—is this right ?
I pray, explain thy attitude ;
thinkest thou, it improves thy sight ?"

The arrow-maker replied :

"The wide horizon of both eyes serves
only to distract the view ;
But if you get a single line, your aim
is fixed, your vision true."

After these words of advice, he was silent. minding his business, unmindful of surroundings. The king got at last a true warning to be strong-minded. He said, asking the queen to turn back :

"Here are two paths : do thou take one, the other by myself take I ;
Call me not husband from henceforth, thou art no more my wife ; goodbye."

1 Jacob's Laukika-nyāyāñjali, Part II. 11. p. 11, under Ishukārauyāya.

54. Pl. XVIII. N. Gate. Corner Pillar [Scene 136] :—

Vitura-Punakiya-Jātakaṁ.[1]

"The Jātaka-episodes of Vidūra and Pūrṇaka."

The sculpture illustrating the Jātaka-episodes of Vidūra and Pūrṇaka fills three square panels, into which the whole outer side or face of a Return Corner pillar is divided. The upper panel is subdivided by a Buddhist railing into two halves, each of which appears as a separate panel containing the representation of a distinct episode. We can say that the episodes are distributed into four quadrangular panels of unequal size which can be named as the uppermost, the middle upper, the middle lower, and the lowermost. Cunningham could well perceive that the panels are not put below one another to synchronise with the succession of the episodes as we find them narrated in the Pāli Vidhūra-Paṇḍita-Jātaka (F. 545). He has tried to establish the synchronism by putting the middle upper panel after the uppermost and the lowermost panel before the middle lower. But our description will convince the reader that this is possible only if we consider the four panels in this order : (1) the uppermost, (2) the lowermost, (3) the middle lower, and (4) the middle upper.

Pūrṇaka Yaksha getting possession of the wise Vidūra as a prize of victory in in a play at dice with the Kuru-king, carries him into the presence of the Nāga king and the Nāga queen whose daughter he is anxious to marry.

(1) Uppermost Panel—Here, in the left half, there is a rocky mountain top, where we see just three growing and two bears peeping out of the caves or holes. A handsome Nāga maiden stands in a dancing attitude on the right, singing out a song which is listened and responded to by a young man. Though one of the trees stands between them, there is no clear indication that the young man had concealed himself under its cover before he came within the view of the young woman. But he is represented as holding with his left hand a long scarf, suspended from the air, which is clearly indicative of his descent from the high. The upper part of the single snake-canopy that was over the head of the Nāga maiden is broken off. She appears to be female figure shown under the palace gateway. Here, in the left half, Cunningham rightly sees a representation of the Kālagiri mountain on which the two lovers, the Nāga princess Irandatī or Arundhatī and the youthful Yaksha Pūrṇaka met each other for the first time.

(2) Lowermost Panel—Here is a royal palace of the Kuru-king[2] Dhanañjaya which shows small pinnacles on its roof and is provided in front with an outer gateway opening out through a Buddhist railing. Two large garlands are hanging

1 Barua Sinha, No. 220. 2 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 82.

from its upper storey, and six ladies are seen peeping out through its two doorways and through spaces between its pillars. The ladies are evidently watching some situation before their eyes. The wise Vidūra with his dignified appearance is gently stepping out through the outer gateway, while Pūrṇaka Yaksha is soberly waiting outside with a caparisoned horse. About one third of this panel on the right is missing, and it may be, as Cunningham suspects, that here was represented a scene of the Kuru-king and the Yaksha playing with dice, the latter defeating the former and winning the possession of the Kuru-councillor Vidūra as a prize.

(3) Middle Lower Panel—Here Cunningham finds several portions of the story represented in continuous action. In the lower right corner he sees the Yaksha just beginning his aerial journey, which is continued further to the left where Vidūra is holding on by the tail of the flying steed, which is rapidly approaching the rocks and forest of the Himālaya. In the upper right corner he sees the Yaksha has seized Vidūra by the feet and is dashing his head on the rocks, while in the upper left corner Vidūra is standing by the side of the Yaksha, and teaching him the Excellent Law of Buddha, the precepts of which he enforces with his upraised hand.[1]

The action is misunderstood. The four continuous phases of the story seem to have been represented thus : (a) in the right lower corner the Yaksha Pūrṇaka has come so far away in his aerial journey from Indraprastha, the Kuru-capital, carrying the wise Vidūra holding on by the tail of his flying horse, that he now appears by the side of Kālagiri, the Black mountain, presenting the three growing trees on its summit ; (b) in the upper right corner the Yaksha remains holding the invincible Kuru-councillor with his head downwards in the sky ; (c) in the upper left corner the wise Vidūra, standing on the right and instructing the Yaksha who is standing before him on the left, strongly advises the latter to carry him to the residence of the Nāga-king ; (d) finally, in the lower left corner the Yaksha continues his aerial journey, carrying the wise man.

(4) Middle Upper Panel—Cunningham vainly seeks to find here a scene of the Yaksha Pūrṇaka coming into the presence of the king and queen of the Nāgas to ask their permission to marry their daughter Arundhatī. What we can actually see in the left half are the outer gateway of the Nāga-palace and the entry of Vidūra evidently walking in behind Pūrṇaka. In the right half we see Pūrṇaka standing, with Vidūra behind him, in the presence of the Nāga-king Varuṇa and the Nāga-queen Vimalā who are seated on the left, side by side, on a couch, the queen on the left hand side of the king. Cunningham rightly observes that the king has a five-

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 82.

headed snake-canopy and the queen has only one snake over her head. The king with his upraised hand, is conversing with Pūrṇaka Yaksha who is addressing him with his hands crossed over his breast in an attitude of respect. The place of this meeting of the four is certainly the interior of the royal residence of Varuṇa. We must say with Cunningham that with this scene the sculptured illustrations of the Vidhūra-Paṇḍita-Jātaka come to an end, as with the conversion of the Yaksha the real story of the Jātaka also ends, the marriage of the Nāga princess to Pūrṇaka and the safe return of Vidūra to Indraprastha being only the natural sequence of the previous incidents, all of which have been clearly, although somewhat rudely, represented.[1] The commentary version of the Vidhūra-Paṇḍita-Jātaka has many details which do not find place in the Barhut carving. The sculptor has evidently followed a simpler story, which was even simpler than the Canonical version as we have it reproduced in the commentary. The story may be narrated, in a relevant form, as follows :—

The Bodhisat was then born as Vidūra, the wise Kuru-councillor. There was a Nāga-king, named Varuṇa. The Nāga-queen Vimalā desired to have Vidūra's heart brought to her. "I shall die", she exclaimed, "If I do not get it." The Nāga-king employed his daughter, the Nāga-princess Arundhatī to seek out some husband who could bring Vidūra. She went forth in the night to the top of the Black Mountain in the Himālaya where she, having danced a pleasant dance, sang a sweet song. "What Gandharva or demon, Nāga, Kimpurusa or man, or what sage, able, to grant all desires, will be my husband the livelong night ?" At that time the Yaksha-general Pūrṇaka, the nephew of Vaiśravaṇa Kuvera, as he was riding on a magic Sindh horse, and hastening over the Black Mountain, heard that song of hers, and being fascinated by it, turned back, and alighting on the mountain-top, addressed her, comforting her, "I will be thy husband, I will be thy husband, O thou of faultless eyes : verily my knowledge is such that I can bring you what thy heart desires." "Come then, let us go to my father," she said, "he will explain this matter to thee." The Nāga-king told him that if he could bring the heart of Vidūra, the far-farmed minister of the Kuru-king Dhanañjaya, Arundhatī would surely be his lawful wife. Hearing these words, the yaksha ordered his attendant to bring him his horse harnessed with gear of ruby, and mail-armour of molten gold. He forthwith mounted the god-bearing steed himself richly adorned and with his hair and beard well-trimmed, and went through the sky. Thus having gone to Indraprastha, the Kuru-capital, the Yaksha engaged the Kuru-king Dhanañjaya in gambling with dice, claiming the possession of Vidūra as a prize of victory. He defeated the Kuru-king in the play which was played in the

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 82.

royal gaming-hall. Pūrṇaka, addressing Vidūra, said, "Come, I will now depart, you are given to me by the king." "I know it, O youth," said the wise man, "let me lodge thee just for three days in my home while I exhort my sons." Gladly assenting and eagerly longing,the Yaksha went with Vidūra came to take leave of the king, taking the Yakhsa with him. The king's wives and many other women burst into a bitter cry as he walked out the place to go with Purṇaka who was waiting for him. The Yaksha asked him to take hold, without fear, of the tail of the noble horse, who went up into the sky, carrying the seer, and soon reached the Black Mountain. The king knew that the seer, wise, learned and skilful that he was, would safely return, setting himself free. The Yaksha, setting him on the top of the Black Mountain, held him with his head downwards into the sky, meaning to kill him and take his heart. "Hold me up quickly" exclaimed the wise man, "if thou really needest my heart. I will tell thee this day all the laws of the good man." Pūrṇaka, holding him forthwith, set him upon the summit of the mountain, and hearing the incomparable teaching of wisdom, made up his mind to carry him back to Indraprastha. But Vidūra insisted that he must not be sent away to his own home but be carried to the residence of the Nāga-king. The yaksha obeyed him most reluctantly, and carried him to the place of the Naga-king. When they reached there, the sage stood behind the Yaksha, and the Naga-king, beholding the concord between them, inquired of Pūrṇaka as to how he successfully returned, bringing the sage of unequalled wisdom. Pūrṇaka gently replied, "As he himself is come, won by righteous means, it is better for you to hear as he speaks before thee" Thus he introduced the wise man to the Nāga-king. The king turning to his wife Vimalā, said, "He: for whom, O Vimalā, you grew pale, the sage, for the sake of whose heart this trouble came upon you,—listen well to his words. you will never see him again." They listened to the words of the wise man, and felt that the heart of sages was their wisdom. The king and his queen gladly offered Arundhatī to Pūrṇaka as his bride, and he carried her as well as the sage, went back to his home, dropping the wise man in the city of Indraprastha.

55. Pl. XXV. 3. [Scene 137] :—Yavamajhakiyaṁ Jātakaṁ.[1]
"The Yavamadhyaka Jātaka-scene."

In the upper half of this medallon carving we see a pavilion which is ornamented. In the middle there is a throne-like seat, in which a strong-built man is seated with his commanding personality, placing his left hand on the knee of his left leg, bending his right hand upward in front, and resting the first four fingers on his precious necklace. His feet rest in his

Mahaushadha displays his ready wit and power of judgment.

1 Brua sinha No. 221. (a)

front on the carpet, the knees wide open, six men stand behind the great man and on his two sides, three on each side. In the lower right corner one elderly woman is forcing another woman to come into the presence of the great man and the assembly. The other woman, whose face bears a clear indication of her reluctance, is holding in her left hand a bunch of thread-like substance. The first woman reappears in a second position on the right side of the great man, raising up her left hand, meaning to strike her with a chauri-lie thing, and at the same time rudely accusing her before the judge. At the bottom we see three human heads peeping out through three basket holes. It seems that two human heads have been artfully shown twice, in two positions, one by the side of the other in the first position, and one behind the other in the second. In the lower left corner two men are carrying a cylindrical load in a net of cords, hung from a banghi pole, which is here a strong log of wood, carefully held up on the right shoulder of the first man who walks ahead, and on the hands of the second man behind. A third man carries a basket. These are the three tricky situations with which the great man is confronted. The Pāli Mahā-ummagga-Jātaka (F. 546), of which the Yavamadhyaka incidents form only one of the many episodes, contains an account of several tricky situations which Mahaushadha, the wise son of the Banker Śrīvarddhaka, successfully dealt with. The story of Mahaushadha, relevant to the Barhut scene, is as follows :—

At the four gates of Mithilā, the capital of Videha, there were four wheat-shaped market towns, called the East town, the South town, the West town, and the North town. There lived a rich banker Śrīvarddhaka, whose wife was Lady Sumanā. It is in their family that the Bodhisat was born as a son with a medicinal plant in his hand. It is for this reason that he was named Mahaushadha or 'Great Medicine Man.' He who was as strong as an elephant built a magnificent hall, where he used to sit and discuss the right and wrong of the good or evil circumstances of all the petitioners who resorted there and gave his judgment on each. It became like the happy time when the world is blessed with the advent of a Buddha. Now it happened that one day a certain woman went to bathe in the great sage's tank, placing the ball of fine thread spun by him. Another woman who came there put it in her lap, and walked off with it. The elder woman seeing it, came quickly out of the water, seized hold of her dress, crying," You are running away with the ball of cotton thread made by me." The other replied that she was not taking anything of hers ; it was the ball which she made herself. The sage hearing them quarrelling as they passed by the door of his hall, asked what the noise was about. He sent for them both, and knew at once by her

countenance who the thief was. He asked the thief, "When you made the ball, what did you put inside"? "A cotton seed." Then he asked the other, and her reply was, "A timbaru seed." He untwisted the ball of cotton and found a timbaru seed inside and forced the thief to confess her guilt. The crowd that gathered round him praised him for the way in which he decided the case.

In order to test his merit the king of Videha sent two heads, one of a man and one of a woman, to be distinguished by the people of the East town with a fine of a thousand pieces in case of failure. The villagers failing to decide, asked the great being. He recognised them at once, and told which was which. He knew it well that the sutures in a man's head are straight, those in a woman's head are crooked. On a third occasion, the massage from the king was, "You must send me a new tank covered with water lilies of all five kinds. The sage saw that a counter-question was wanted. He sent for several men clever at speaking and directed them to go and play in the water till their eyes were red, and wait upon the king with wet hair and garments and bodies covered all over with mud, holding in your hands ropes, staves and clods, and then say to him: "We have brought a great tank to suit your majesty's taste. She being used to a life in the forest, no sooner saw the town with its walls, moats and watch-towers, than she took fright and broke the ropes and went off into the forest. We tried but could not make her come back. If you could give us the old tank which is said to have been brought in from the forest, we would yoke them together and bring the other back." The king being asked, replied that he never had a tank brought in from the forest. The men, as instructed by the sage, said, "Sire, if that is so, how can the people of East Town send you a tank ?"

56 (a). Pl. Indian Museum. 116 [Scene 138]:—This presents the scene of a royal park where a royal personage is giving away a royal elephant as a gift to an ascetic who stands in the left holding a staff in his left hand. The existence of the park is indicated by the presence of a tree. The royal elephant stands characteristically under this tree, with a precious rug spread over his body and a precious net of jewels encircling his forehead and hanging over his eyes. The royal personage stands in the middle, holding out the trunk of the elephant with his left hand and pouring water with his right, out of a jug, upon the palm of the right hand of the ascetic, as a formal act of signifying the gift. M. Foucher and Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda identify the scene with one of the introductory episodes of the Vessantara-Jātaka (F. 547), in which Prince Viśvantara, is said to have given away the royal elephant

The Bodhisat gives away the royal elephant as a gift to the Brahmin from Kalinga.

of the Śivi kingdom as a gift to the Brahmins from Kaliṅga. But we find that the subject of the sculpture is an episode which is common to two distinct Jātakas, viz. the Kurudhamma (F. 276) and the Vessantara) (F. 547), and there is no inscription to guide us in deciding as to which one of these two Jātakas is here meant. We must, therefore, separately narrate the episode as it occurs in each of the two Jātakas.

First, as to the episode in the Kurudhamma-Jātaka. The Bodhisat then became the righteous Kuru king who was famous throughout India for his piety and charitable institutions. He possessed a state elephant that had the virtue of causing the rain to fall during drought and famine. At this period a famine broke out in Kaliṅga on account of drought and failure of crops. The king of Kaliṅga sent, in compliance with the request of all the people in his kingdom, eight Brahmins to the righteous Kuru king to ask for his state elephant. The Brahmins went, donning travelling garb, and in due course reached the Kuru capital Indraprastha. On the full-moon day the king of the city came out to inspect the six Almstalls which he built, one at each of the four city-gates, one in the midst of the city and one at his own door. Washed and anointed, all adorned and rarely arrayed, the king of the city mounted upon a fine elephant richly caparisoned. When he inspected the Almstall at the eastern gate, the Brahmins had had no chance of asking for the elephant. As the king departed to the south gate and reached a rising ground not far from the gate, they raised their hands, and hailed the king victorious. "Well, Brahmins, what is your wish ?" asked the king, guiding his elephant to the place where they were. They told him what their mission was. The king, dismounting, said to them, "If there is a spot on him unadorned, I will adorn it and then give him to you." After satisfying himself about adornment, the king put the trunk into the Brahmins' hands, besprinkled him with water from a fine golden vase, and made him over to them. The Brahmins accepted the elephant with his belongings, and returning to the capital, handed him over to the king of Kaliṅga.

Secondly, as to the episode in the Vessantara-Jātaka. The Bodhisat was then born in the Śivi kingdom as Prince Viśvantara and the son of King Sañjaya. He built six Almstalls which he used to visit six times in each month, mounted upon his magnificent elephant. At that time there was drought in Kaliṅga, the crops failed, and a great famine ensued. The king of this kingdom pledged himself to virtue and kept the holiday vow, but he could not make the rain come. The citizens came and said, "O lord, Prince in the kingdom of Śivi has a glorious elephant all white, and wherever he goes the rain falls. Send brahmins to ask for that elephant, and bring

him hither." The king sent eight brahmins who started in the ascetic guise. As in the preceding episode, the Brahmins received the Bodhisat's elephant at the southern gate of the city, mounted upon his back, and amidst a thronging multitude passed through the city. The citizens were so very angry with the Prince for giving away the elephant that they in a body waited upon the king, and compelled him to banish his son from his kingdom to the Vakra mountain.

In the Barhut sculpture only one Brahmin in the ascetic guise is to be seen. In it neither the citygate nor the Almstall is represented.

57 (b) Unphotographed Jātaka-Scene [Mining] :—On the remains of a Corner Pillar of one of the missing Gateways Cunningham was able to trace the remaining portion of a Jātaka-scene presenting a four-horse chariot with a boy and a girl being led by the hand.[1] The episode of the Jātaka with which he would identify this scene relates :—

Prince Viśvantara departs to Vakra mountain, with his wife and boy and girl, in a four-horse chariot.

King Sañjaya passed the order of banishment upon his son, the noble Prince Viśvantara. A gorgeous chariot with a team of four Sindh horses stood at his door. His wife Mādrī with her boy and girl went before him and took her place in the chariot. On his way the Vakra mountain, the Bodhisat gave away the four horses to four Brahmins who asked for them. The chariot was then being drawn by four red deer, As he drove on, came another Brahmin, asking for his chariot. He gave him the chariot, and dismounting his wife and children therefrom, went on foot. They took up the two children, and carried them on their hips, he took the boy and his wife took the girl.

57 (c) Pl. XLVIII 11 [Scene 140] :—Jabū Noḍode pavate.[2]

"Rose-apple trees on Mt. Nārada."

Here Cunningham sees a man receiving both meat and drink from the two hands which project from the trunk of a tree. In one hand is a bowl filled with solid food, and in the other a water-vessel with handle and in the other a water-vessel with handle and spout like a tea-kettle.[3]

The faithful couple live on Mt. Nārada; the wife gathers fruits from the wood and feeds the husband.

The incised label leads us to look here for a scene of rose-apple trees on Mt. Nārada, and we actually see one rose-apple tree represented in the left. A man sits down in the middle on a bowl-holder, put upside down, facing this tree. Two human hands are

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, Preface, p. vi. 2 Barua Sinho, No. 222. 3 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 98.

stretched forth from the back side of the tree, the right hand holding out a water-jug provided with a handle and a spout, and the left hand holding out bowl filled with edibles. One may suspect that some invisible tree-spirit mysteriously projects the hands to wash the hand of the man in front with water poured out of the jug and gives him the edibles to eat. But the fact seems to be that the body of the human being remains hidden behind the tree, and cannot, therefore, be seen. This human being is evidently no other than one seen behind the man, walking down the mountain with a fruit-basket, held up in the right hand. Though a turban is worn on the head, this human figure appears to be a woman whose breast is tightly wrapped, as that of a hill woman, by the folds of her cloth. She casts lingering books as she goes into the forest to gather fruits. We differ from both Cunningham and Hoernle[1] in thinking that this scene has no connexion with the one with the label—Vaḍuko katha dohati Naḍode pavate. Though about one third in the right side of the Coping-panel containing this scene is missing, there is little doubt that the illustrated story is an episode of the Sambūla Jātaka (F. 519), or that of the Vessantara-Jātaka (F. 547) preferably that of the latter. The episode as it occurs in the two Jātakas is as follows :—

First, as in the Sambūla-Jātaka. Prince Svastisena, the son of the king of Benares, being attacked with an incurable leprosy, retired into a wild forest to perish there. His wife Sambūlā accompanied him. They built a leaf-hut, and took up their abode in a shady and well-watered spot, where wild fruit abounded. The royal lady kept watch over him, carefully attending and nursing him. After finishing her morning duties, furnishing him with a tooth-stick and water to wash his mouth, anointing his sores with various simples she prepared, and giving him luscious fruits to eat, she used to go into the forest, saluting him and asking him to be earnest in well-doing. She would go putting on her bark garment, taking a basket, a spade and a hook to gather wild fruits and set the basket of fruits on one side when she returned. She would then offer him water in a jar to wash, and wild fruit to eat. When he had finished his meal, she would bring him scented water and herself partake of fruit. Thus she watched over her husband till he was completely cured, and returned to Benares when her husband became the king and she his queen consort. But after gaining the sovereignty, he began to neglect her, forgetting that she stood by him alone when his condition was miserable. She well anticipated her fate when, on returning from the forest and seeing a mountain of gold, she

1 Hoernle's Readings, No. 8 in IV, Vol. X. and XI.

asked him if he would share it with her and he bluntly refused to do so. She afterwards expressed this fact in words that probably form the text of one of the Barhut labels—Dusito giri dadati na.

Secondly. as in the Vessantara-Jātaka. On coming to the Vakra range with his wife Mādrī and two children, he took up his abode in a hermitage which he found there. He putting off his bow and sword, put on the ascetic garments. Mādrī, and her children likewise donned the ascetic dress. Mādrī watched over them in the manner of Sambūlā. Thus they lived for seven months in the recesses of the mountain. One day, as she was going into the forest with her basket and tools to gather fruits and roots, she embraced and kissed her children and said, "Last night I had bad dream; be careful, dears!" Before she had left the hermitage, she begged her husband to take care of her children. Now taking advantage of her absence, the wicked Brahmin, Jūjaka by name, came to Viśvantara, and asked him for his children. The children he gave him, and with them he quickly went away. Mādrī returned to the hermitage with her basket and edibles, and was thunderstruck not to see her children there. She inquired about them from her husband who remaind silent. She looked about, and searched for them under the rose-apple and other trees, in all places where they used to play. As she was looking for them, she lamented, saying—

> "These clusters of nose-apple trees, that droop
> around the mere,
> And all the fruitage of the woods, my children
> are not here!"

But when she was told that he gave away their children as a gift to a Brahmin during her absence, she rejoiced and approved of the gift, whereupon the mighty earth shook and trembled, and it is said—

> "Then Nārada and Pabbata both greatly did rejoice,
> Yea, all the Three and Thirty Gods with Indra, at that voice."

58. Fl. Indian Museum. Coping Panel. Fragment [Scene 141] :—

Scene of an unknown Jātaka

Here we see a hermitage where a hermit is seated cross-legged on a seat appearing to be a square slab of stone, confronting a tree, of which the bare outline now remains. In the absense of other particulars the scene cannot be identified with any known Jātaka.

iii (b). EPISODES OUTSIDE THE SCOPE OF FAUSBOL'S JĀTAKA.—

1. Pls. XV. S. Gate. Prasenajit Pillar. Lower Bas releif. Inner Face. XXX. 2 [Scene 142] :—

Bahuhathiko.[1]

Bahuhathiko Nigodho Naḍode.[2]

Susupālo Koḍāyo, Veḍuko arāmako.[3]

"Bahuhastika—the scene of many elephants."

"The holy Banyan with many elephants on Mt. Nārada."

"Śiśupāla—the fort-keeper (forest-owner), Veṇuka—the gardener (forester)."

Śiśupāla and Veṇuka at a Banyan shrine worshipped by a herd of elephants on Mt. Nārada.

Here Cunningham notices a very curious scene of a herd of wild elephants paying their devotions to a Bodhi-tree. The tree, he says, is easily recognisable as a Banyan by its long pendent shoots. This identification is confirmed by the name of the tree, Nyagrodha, occuring in the accompaying incised label. In front of the tree is the usual throne, Bodhimaṇḍa, before which elephants, old and young, are kneeling. To the right and left other elephants are bringing garlands to hang on the branches of the tree. In the upper left corner there is a second tree, and to the right, where the stone is broken, a male figure with joined hands over looks the whole scene. If this tree represents a Bodhi-tree, it must be that of the Buddha Kāśyapa. Though the object of reverence is a Bodhi-tree. the whole scene appears to be exactly the same as that of worship of the deserted Stūpa of Rāmagrāma by a herd of elephants, deccribed by Fa-Hian and Hwen Thsang, particularly by the elder Chinese pilgrim. "Ever and anon", to quote Fa-Hian," a herd of elephants, carrying water in their trunks, piously watered the ground, and also brought all sorts of flowers and perfumes to pay religious worship at the Tower. Buddhist pilgrims from all countries come here to pay their vows, and worship at the shrine. On one occasion, some of these met the elephants, and being very much frightened, concealed themselves amongst the trees. They then saw the elephants perform their services according to the Law." Cunninghan thinks that the single man concealing himself amongst the trees is intended to represent the frightened pilgrim, who watches the spontaneous offerings made by the wild elephants.[4]

We are not convinced that the tree is a Bodhi-tree or the throne is a Bodhimaṇḍa. The elephants are not certainly bringing garlands. The hanging objects which two of the elephants, on two sides, have grasped with their trunks are two

1—3 Barua Sinha, Nos. 214-216. 4 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 115.

aerial roots, branchtng off and forming bunches at their lower extremities. There is no tree in the upper left corner ; it is only a bamboo cluster. The scene presents not one human figure but two, one of whom, no doubt the man in front, is Śiśupāla, the forest-owner, and the other behind him is Veṇuka the forester. The latter name, Veṇuka or Bamboo-man, is quite appropriate to a scene marked by a cluster of bamboos. In fact, the scene is that of a royal forest on Mt. Nārada, where bamboos grew up in large numbers. It was in this forest-region that the sacred Banyan shrine, frequented, worshipped and guarded by a herd of wild elephants, was situated. If the shrine was a Bodhi-tree with a Bodhimaṇḍa, we would have seen garlands either hanging from the tree or at least offered on the throne. The head of the man in front is completely broken off and missing, and only the turban of the second man now remains. The first man appears with joined hands, held before his eyes. The action of the second man cannot be ascertained. But it is certain that here the representation is one of pre-Buddhistic Indian Tree-worship, replaced in Buddhism by the worship of the Bodhi-tree. The story presupposed seems to have been a different version of the Mahāvāṇija-Jātaka (F. 493), in which the forest-owner and forester were substituted for the caravan merchants, and nāgas in the sense of elephants for nāgas in the sense of dragons or serpents. The Mahāvānija-story contains the full description of a wonderful huge Banyan tree, which grew up in a wild forest and was haunted and guarded by dragons—nāgapariggahita-nigrodha-rukkha, an expression squaring with bahuhathikanigrodha of the Barhut label. The leaves of this tree, as described in the Jātaka, were all glossy as though wet with water. Its branches were full of water. Water could be seen running through it. Cutting off a branch of it facing the east, one could get an ample supply of drinking water. Cutting a branch on the southern side, one could obtain all manner of choice food. Cutting a branch on the west side, one could enjoy the company of fair and beautiously adorned women. And lastly, cutting one of the northern branches, one could procure five hundred cartloads of the seven things of price. These were all gifts of favour from the rich Dragon-chief. Those whose greed led them to cut the tree to the root were violently attacked by the furious dragon-army and utterly destroyed. According to the Jātaka, this Banyan tree graced a wild forest near Benares. In by-gone times some caravan merchants under the guidance of the Bodhisat, their chief, losing their way, aimlessly traversed this forest, without food and drink, till they came to the spot where the Banyan tree was. They were lucky to obtain all precious and enjoyable things in the dreary and waterless region. They thought they could get more by cutting the tree by the root. The Bodhisat, their wise chief, dissuaded them from this cruel wanton deed. But they being many, and

he being one, his voice proved to be feeble. They struck the whetted axes in to fell the tree by the root, with the consequence that armed dragon soldiers rushed forth to decimate them. The dragon-army took care to save the caravan chief, who was safely conveyed to his house with all the precious goods.

Going by the analogy of this Jātaka, we can attempt this twofold construction of the Barhut story : either (1) that of the two men, one refraining from harming the life of the tree, was saved, and the other meaning to cut it by the root, was attacked and trampled by the wild elephants guarding it ; or (2) that both of them enjoyed the gifts, keeping themselves above greed. But it may also be that the representation is of a simple story in which Śiśupāla, the forest owner, was very pleased to be led by Veṇuka, the forester, who knew the way, to this sacred spot, where he might watch the herd of wild elephants paying worship at the Banyan shrine, and fill his own heart with deep devotional feelings.

Honey-seller's offering to a Pratyeka-Buddha.

2. Pl. XLII. 7. [Scene 143] :—Here Cunningham notices one man and one woman standing together in a courtyard surrounded on three sides by houses, the woman holding out a flat basket or tray, into which the man is emptying the contents of a round basket, while a second man is standing outside the house to the right with his banghi-load of two baskets placed on the ground. He thinks the arragement of the houses agrees with Vālmīki's description of Rāma's dwelling place at Pañchavaṭi,[1]

We really cannot forgive Cunningham for his Ramayanic bias, and still less for his mistake of a man for a woman. But this is not to deny that the man standing apparently on the courtyard is emptying the contents of a receptacle of cylinderical shape into a flat-basket-like tray or pot held out by another man to the left, who is sitting cross-legged and at ease, in erect posture, with his dignified and calm appearance. The peculiarity of his garments cannot be discerned. It is certain that he wears no ornaments on his person, and no head-dress. He is evidently an ascetic of a brilliant type, of which there is no parallel in the Barhut representation. His distinctive feature is the absence of matted hair. In an apparent view, his hair, which is not very long, is parted in two and gracefully arranged on two sides of his head. The first man seems to make an offering to the holy man within the homestead and his action is being grimly watched from outside by another, apparently related to him, He is seen standing outside to the right, holding up with his left hand one extremity of the banghi-pole, on which he carried a load of two open-mouthed large pots covered by two lids and laid at rest. The expression of the upraised forefinger

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 100.

of his right hand signifies an attitude of resentment or disapproval. The pots are seemingly fit receptacles for some liquid substance. What is the story illustrated in this scene ?

If the attitude of the man standing outside be one of resentment or disapproval, the scene cannot be taken to be an artistic counterpart of the well-known Buddhist story of Trapusha and Bhalluka, or of an older prototype of it. Had it been the representation of a scene from this story, it would have shown both the men offering the gift jointly. Further, this story has no indication that the lumpy honey-cakes offered had to be carried as a banghi-load. Thus we are compelled to find out a different Buddhist story which can explain the observed points. In looking for it we chance upon just one story in Pāli describing an incident of the previous birth of King Aśoka, his nephew Nigrodha and his preceptor Tissa.

The story relates that these three were born in a former birth as three brothers, who became dealers in honey. They put up a shop in a city-market. The elder brothers used to procure honey, while the youngest brother did the work of sale-man. One Pratyeka Buddha or Egotistic Seer or Truth became ill with boils. For him another Pratyeka Buddha, who was his comrade, entered the city for honey in the usual manner of going the round for alms. He came to the honey-shop belonging to the trader brothers. The brother whose business it was to do the duty of a sale-man was pleased to make an offering of honey, pouring it into the alms-bowl of the Buddha. The honey offered not only filled the bowl but overflowed and fell on the ground. Rejoicing over this, he made a solemn resolve to become a sovereign lord of India in this future birth. At this moment his elder brothers arrived on the spot carrying with them honey which they went to procure. He asked them to approve of the gift made by him saying that the honey given away was really due to them. His eldest brother being displeased, remarked : "The man to whom you have offered our honey must surely be a chaṇḍāla or outcast, for the chaṇḍālas usually put on such yellow robes." His second brother even went a step further in his invective : "Better cast him on the other shore of the ocean !" But his solemn utterance to the effect of making over the merit induced them at last to give their approval. This youngest brother was reborn as King Aśoka.[1]

It is not easy to ascertain if the story as known to the Barhut sculptor was then connected with King Aśoka, though some such story must be at the back of the illustrated scene.[2]

1 Dīpavaṃsa, Chap. V ; Mahāvaṃsa, Chap. V ; etc.

2 The Pāli Apadāna story of Madhupiṇḍika (No. 97) introduces only one character, the honey-seller who made the offering.

3. Pl. XLVIII. 9. [Scene 144] :—Vaḍuko katha dohati Naḍode pavate.[1]
"Vaḍuka is extracting the juicy balm on Mt. Nārada."

Juicy balm on Mt. Nārada.

This is the basrelief in which Cunningham notices some large rocks to the right, to the left an ornamental bag or a skin suspended from two pegs, and in the middle a man seated in front of the bag, the ends of which he holds as if he is in the act of milking.[2]

This description can hardly suffice to make out the story explaining the details. On the right side, we see a tree, which is fairly tall, consisting of several stems, clustered together, looking like a creeping plant, with a big foliage of bushy growth at the top. It appears that the two outer stems in front have been cut to form two pegs connected by a piece of carpet-shaped linen, long enough to reach down the hands of a man sitting on his heels on the ground, at the foot of the tree. The lower part of the linen shows two ends resembling the pennons or streamers of a flag. The man is simply holding the two ends and drawing them together as a device of compelling the juice to tickle down and flow in one stream so as to fill the skin bag or vase below. The large pieces of rock referred to by Cunningham, bear some auspicious marks symbolising the sacredness of Mt. Naḍoda or Nārada, where the scene has been laid. Here, perhaps, we have an artistic representation of the scene from the story, similar to that of Vaḍika in the Avadāna-Śataka.

Vaḍika, the Bodhisat, then born as a banker's son, became a long sufferer from a skin disease. He tried in vain all available remedies. Seeing that all the best physicians could not give him any relief, he despaired of cure and became dejected in spirit. But there was a compassionate Buddha who took pity on him and came to his rescue. The Buddha came to see him of his own accord and thought of having a juicy balm procured for him from Mt. Gandhamādana. Śakra, the thunder-bearer, proceeded forthwith towards the distant mountain and fetched the balm extracted from a medicinal plant, called Kshīrikāviksha, and handed it to the great healer of mankind. The balm was applied as a remedy for his physical malady. As for his mental malady, the ready-made balm was found in the gentle instruction of the Buddha, who took leave of his patient after having predicted his future greatness as Buddha Śākyamuni.

Coming back to the scene itself, we find that Vaḍuka or Vaḍiuka himself is in the act of extracting the balm.

1 Barua Sinha, No. 223. 2 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 98.

4. Pl. XLII. [Scene 145] :— Here Cunningham sees four men, two seated and two standing. Two of them are dressed in the usual costume of most of the Barhut figures. The other two have peculiar flat caps on their heads, apparently ornamented with feathers and broad collars of leaves round their necks, and they may be taken to be foreign merchants who have to deal with the two home merchants that are seated, In front of the latter are two baskets and a number of objects which look like elephant's tusks and the chauri tails of the yak. Thé two foreign merchants are engaged in close conversation, the subject of which is the price of the tusks and chauri tails.[1]

The Jātaka-scene of bargaining in purchasing plantain or banana from a shop.

In the upper part of the middle portion of this Coping panel we see two well-covered cylinderical baskets, of which the contents, as shown in the lower part, are bunches of plantain or banana, separated from the main stalk. The dealer or shop-keeper, seated cross-legged to the right, is directing his assistant to show the things to the customer or customers who stand before the shop. His assistant, standing behind him, is seen to be busy taking the bunches of plantain or banana out of one of the two baskets before him. It is likely that the same two baskets have been shown twice ; and the same one man has been represented in two places and postures. The customer, who is apparently a man of high social position, stands with his superior dignity at a little distance from the shop, conversing with another man who stands to the right, facing him and turning his back upon the bananas and baskets. Both are dressed alike. The flat caps and costume distinguish them from the remaining Barhut male figures. They put on, over the dhoti, a thin cloak with sleeves that show a fine embroidery work in the part over the arm. The cloak is closely tied to the body by means of a twisted string, passing crosswise over the shoulders. The distinguished customer, holding up a bunch of banana in his left hand is asking, as indicated by the attitude of his right hand and forefinger, the other man to tell him its price, and the other man, holding up the bunch in his right hand, is telling its price, the demanded price being shown up in the shape of coins in the palm of his left hand. If the second man be the seller, the sculptured story would seem to be one like the Chullakaseṭṭhi-Jātaka (F, 4) in which a poor man's son is said to have amassed a great fortune by working up a small capital, getting all the producers of suppliers to concentrate their things in one place and sell them to him, thus enabling him to monopolise and sell at a high price. If the second man be the customer's companion, the story may be one like the Gaṇḍatindu-Jātaka (F. 520) in

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, p. 100.

which a king is said to have gone out on a tour of inspection. taking his minister with him, and ascertained the condition of the people within his realm.

5. Pl. XXXIV. 3. [Scene 146] :—The scene is carved in a half-medallion at the top of a railing-pillar apparently serving a decorative purpose. It presents, as noticed by Cunningham; two dogs that look like the present hill dogs, with straight ears and bushy tails that curl over on to their backs.[1] They are set upon a boar by a hunter who stands in the middle holding a spear in his left hand and placing his right hand on the back of the dog in his front. The hunter appears as a heavy-built and short-statured savage. His head-dress differs from that of other male figures. It looks more like a cap than a turban or tiara. The boar is attacked by the dogs from two sides, front and rear, while the hunter taking advantage of the position, pierces it on the back of its neck with his spear. He appears to encourage the dog in his front by patting its back with his right hand.

Hunter kills boar with the help of his dogs.

The bas-relief, as it is, does not convey a complete story. It depicts at most a hunting scene, the killing of boars by setting dogs upon them. But here we have certainly an artistic illustration of the hunting method of a 'savage-dog-hunter', as he is described in the Koka-sunakha-luddaka-Vatthu of the Dhammapada-Commentary.

6. Pl. XXXV. 2. [Scene 147] :—Himāni [2]

This is an interesting medallion-carving, of which the right half is badly damaged. The left half bears a heading, of which just three letters now survive. This portion presents a curious scene, where two men with the same handsome appearance and calm facial expression are lying on the ground, embracing each other, placing neck upon neck, and intertwining their upper legs. Behind the back of each, there is a row of small flower-like objects, which, if these be snow-flakes, would signify that the men are sleeping on a snowy ground and embracing each other as a means of putting off the cold. The scene, as it is, betrays only a decorative purpose.

Two men lying in

7. Pl. XXXIII. 1-3. [Scene 148] :—This is just another instance, where scenes belonging to one continuous story are placed not contiguously, but wide apart. The scenes are three in number. all of which are depicted in medallions, with an element of humour or comic about them. In all of them an elephant and a troop of monkeys are the actors, and this common feature suffices to establish their identity as integral parts of the same story. The scheme is worked out progressively, the culmination being reached

Monkeys capture and triumphantly drag an elephant to extract the giant's teeth.

1 Stūpa of Bharhut. p. 44.

2 Barua Sinha No. 221.

in the third scene, with a gaint as an added character. The first two scenes, as noticed by Cunningham. represent the capture of an elephant by the monkeys, who lead him along in a sort of triumphal procession. They ocupy the two opposite faces of the same Rail-bar in S. W. quadrant. Both the designs, to continue Cunningham's observations, are conceived with much spirit, though workmanship is not equal to the intention. The left hind leg of each elephant is faulty, and there is too much sameness in the attitudes of the monkeys in the first scene. In the second scene, all the five monkeys are in different attitudes, each of which is a natural one. This attention to nature aswellas to art in varrying the attitudes shows that the old Indian sculptor had at least some of the instincts of a true artist. These two scenes seem to be undoubtedly the work of the same sculptor. There is much less spirit in the third scene found in a different quadrant. The same monkeys figure over again, but with less action, and the general effect is comparatively tame. The best figure is that of the monkey who is putting on the palm of the giant's right hand a tooth, extracted by a forceps. We cannot agree with Cunningham in thinking that the monkey is piercing or cutting the the gaint's hand. But it is undisputable that his fixed and grave expression is good, and that his attitude, with the legs drawn in and resting on the toes, marks his eager attention to the work in hand. In Cunningham's opinion, the figure of the giant is badly drawn, and his supine listlessness is suggestive rather of having his nose tickled than of having a tooth violently tugged by a forceps worked by the elephant. The stiff position of the giant must not lead one to conclude that he is bound to his seat. The band round his stomach certainly looks like a girdle of rope. The loose thick band round his neck is apparently a necklace, and not a rope. Leaving aside these small points of difference, the scenes can be well described as follows, in the words of Cunningham, whose classic on the Barhut Stūpa shall ever remain a grand exhibition of the success and failure of a great pioneer :—

In the first scene four monkeys are employed in dragging along a captive elephant, who is carefully secured by strong ropes from doing any mischief. A billet of wood is fastened along the back of his trunk to restrain its action, while a rope tied to his tail is carried between his legs and passed round the root of his trunk. The leading monkey in front of the elephant has the end of the rope over his right arm, while he shoulders the aṅkuśa or elephant-goad, which is grasped with both hands. Three other monkeys drag separate ropes which are passed over their shoulders after the fashion of boatmen in towing a boat. From the end of the last monkey's rope hang the two bells, which had formerly dangled from the elephant's sides. In front of all are two monkey musicians, one playing a drum which is suspended from his neck, and the other sounding a shell which is attached to the end of a long rope.

The second scene represents the same story in a more advanced stage. The elephant is still seen marching along, but he is no longer dragged by his monkey captors, who, with the exception of the musicians, have all mounted on his back. The leading monkey with the aṅkuśa is now seated on the animal's back, and is driving the goad with both hands into his head. A second monkey stands on one of the elephant's tusks, facing the driver, whom he is energetically addressing. Two other monkeys are seated behind the driver, while a fifth holds on by his hands to the rope passing under the elephant's tail and fixes his feet on the animal's rump after the very common fashion of an elephant coolie. The drummer still trudges in front and the shell-blower alongside, but a third monkey has joined the musicians as a player of cymbals.

The third scene is another circular medallion representing an elephant and with the addition of a gaint, who is the principal figure in the composition. He is just twice the height of the elephant. He is seated on a low-backed chair (better, stone-seat), with his feet on a foot-stool. He has the usual royal head-dress, earrings, bracelets, and necklace, and is naked as far as the waist. His right arm hangs straight down his side, but his left arm is extended towards a monkey steated a a low stool in front, with the palm of the hand turned upwards, upon which the monkey is placing an extracted tooth with a pincer. A second monkey is pulling out one of the giant's teeth with a large forceps, which is secured to an elephant by a long rope. A third monkey is driving the goad into the back of the elephant's head to make him go quickly, whilst a fourth monkey is biting the animal's tail and beating him with a stick for the same purpose. Above there is a fifth monkey playing a drum, and below them is a sixth blowing a very large shell.

Such is the most charming and graphic description of the scenes attempted by Cunningham.[1] The story presupposed is a simple one. The Bodhisat being once born as a monkey-king, lived with a large number of followers in a forest region. In roaming about, they entered a woodland which was in possession of a giant, who was troubled with the pain of tooth-ache. He expressed his desire to masticate and devour the monkeys, and would let them off if they could relieve him immediately of the pain by pulling his teeth. It was no easy task for the monkeys. They under the guidance of their wise leader managed to get hold of an elephant, whom they led out from a royal stable, and leading him along in a triumphant procession, brought him to work the forceps, whereby they pulled the giant's teeth.

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 104—105.

8. Pl. XL. 2-5 [Scene 10] :—These four bas-reliefs occupy four contiguous panels on the coping, apparently contrary to the usual arrangement of alternate scenes and ornaments. Whether these present one story or more is a disputed point. Apparently these present one story. At all events, as Cunningham holds, they do not represent more than two stories. In the first scene on the left he notices a tall tree between two women, one of whom, the woman to the left, apparently a servant, is cutting some standing corn, while the other to the right, presumably the mistress, is seated on the ground beside a large vessel, which is a common earthen chulā or fireplace. The scene, as he interprets it, is that of a woman cutting corn for another woman to cook. In the next scene to the right he sees the mistress of the former scene seated on the ground beside a man, both engaged in eating some broad flat cakes, which are being presented to them by the female servant. He suggests that these two scenes may have belonged to one story. In the third scene to the right he finds four actors, a man and a woman, a boy and a girl, beneath a tree, which stands in the middle with large garlands hanging on all sides of it, the boy and the girl lying on mattresses spread on the ground, the man and the woman standing and bending forward, the former towards the girl and the latter towards the boy, administering poison to them with long spoons. The fourth scene on the right hand shows, according to his description, two gigantic birds carrying off the dead bodies of the man and the woman of the previous scene, by the hair of their heads, in a charnel-field, where their dead bodies were exposed, as a punishement for having tortured the children.[1]

Man and woman suffer torments in the Bird-Hell for the sin of poisoning innocent people.

Cunningham's explanations of the details of the four scenes, in spite of their suggestiveness, are defective. There is no reason to suspect that the four scenes occupying the four continuous panels belong to one continuous story. This fact of singleness of the story may be ascertained from the occurrence of the same tree-like construction in the first three scenes. The human figure to the left of the man in the middle could not be mistaken for a woman. The tree-like thing is certainly not a tree. It is a shed on a wooden post supporting a well-thatched and umbrella-shaped roof. The first scene does not represent two women but only one woman doing a twofold work. In the first instance, she is extracting the juice of a poisonous shrub before her. Next she is waiting to put that juice into the pot in which she is cooling rice or something like it on an oven to the right. This twofold action of hers is presented on two sides of the wooden post of the shed. Coming to the next scene

1 Stūpa of Bharhut, pp. 98—99.

to the right we at once notice the woman of the former scene engaged in serving food from the dangerous pot to a man, presumably her husband, while another man to his left, is holding a dish lifted up towards the man in the middle. The purpose of his action is apparently to convince the other man of the harmlessness of the food served by the woman. One dish is placed on his lap from which he was to eat. But he is not actually eating. His right hand is held above the dish. It seems that he has come to apprehend something fatal in the food. The third scene clearly shows that the woman has got rid of her husband with the help of the second man, who must have been a trusted servant or friend in intrigue with her. He was a wicked man. He was not satisfied by having got rid of the woman's husband but prevailed so far upon her as to make her agree to put her two children, one boy and one girl, to death by means of poison. The scene under notice exhibits actual performance of the inhuman cruelty. It intensifies the horror of the tragedy by the device of representing the woman as instrumental to the death of the boy, and the man as instrumental to the death of the girl. Then follows the fourth or last scene representing the nemesis of the whole act. The scene gives a picture of sufferings of the sinners in the region of the crow-infested-hell (Kākola-niraya) as it is called, where two ravenous birds of prey, resembling two wild crows, kites or hawks, are eating them away, beginning from the head downwards. The whole scene is a reduplication of an Indian charnel-field, thereby showing that the whole conception was of an anthropomorphic origin.[1]

The literary counterpart of the complete story as made out above cannot be traced. There is only one Jātaka containing a suggestive approach to the second scene, and there is another Jātaka-story with a similar approach to the two middle scenes. The approach to the second scene is to be found in the Uchchhiṭṭha-bhatta-Jātaka (F. 212), which narrates how the iniquitous wife of a man tried in a hurry to

1 This may be made clear by the close resemblance as shown below, between the description of a charnel-field and a Bird-hell :—

(a) Fate of a man lying dead on a Charnel-field—

Khādanti naṃ supāṇā cha sigālā cha vakā kimī, kākā gijjhā cha khādanti ye ca aññā santi pānoyo.

(Sutta-Nipāta, Vijaya-Sutta).

(b) Fate of a sinner suffering in a Bird-Hell—

Ito gato dakkhasi tattha rāja
Kākolasanghehi pi kaḍḍhamanaṃ,
Taṃ khajjamānaṃ niraye vasantaṃ,
Kākehi gijjhehi cha senakehi
Samchinnagattaṃ ruhiraṃ savantaṃ.

(F. Jātka, V. p, 246).

conceal the fact of another man hiding himself in the store-room after having been served, at meal-time, with fresh-boiled rice, by setting before her husband the same dish with cold leavings of the other man, covered up with some hot rice, but her husband could detect the wrongfulness of her act by testing the rice with his hand and feeling how the hot was above the cold, while a tumbler, who was waiting at the door for a morsel, revealed the secrets to him. The second story containing suggestive details corresponding to the two middle scenes forms a sort of interlude in the Commentary-version of the Mahâummagga-Jātaka (F. 546), narrating how a queen intriguing with the Brahmin Purohita, killed her husband by poison, and was afterwards instigated by the Purohit, installed in the throne even to put her son to death. She, unlike the woman of the bas-relief, could not carry it into practice, as her affection for her son was too strong for her.

SECTION III

SYMBOLICAL OUTLINE OF BUDDHA'S LIFE

1. Pl. VI. E. Gateway. [Scene 13] :—Quite apart from the general Railing scheme, there is to be noticed a rough outline of Buddha Śākyamuni's life on the ornamented arch of E. Gateway, where symbolism plays the most important part. This outline is placed between the gaping mouths of three pairs of crocodiles on the outer ends of three architraves, and this symbolism is designed to represent the world as a fearful state of things, the safest way out of which is refuge in the Buddhist Holy Triad, the Buddha, the Law and the Order. Of the Triad, there are two similar symbols, of three arms each, somewhat different from those of a trident, each of the symbols crowning the upper pillar of the gateway and set upon a full-blown lotus and an abacus of square altars below it. The mechanism of the symbols is very simple. Each of them is made up of two upward tails of the makara forming two small semi-circles and joined together with an upward pointed elevation at the base. The outline itself comprises the following incidents : the Advent, the Renunciation, the Enlightenment, the First Sermon and the Great Decease.

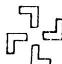
1. The Advent is represented by two magnificent palaces or mansions, one above the other, the upper one being the Tushita and the lower one the palace of Śuddhodhana, with a throne in the centre, usually canopied by an umbrella with hanging garlands.

2. The Renunciation is represented by two horses on two extremities of the upper edge of the upper architrave, saddled with empty seats, canopied by umbrellas with hanging garlands.

3. The Enlightenment is represented, in the middle of the lower, and ex hypothesi in the middle of the upper architrave, by a Bodhi-tree with a Bodhimaṇḍa at its foot, approached by two elephants, one behind the other. On the middle architrave, too, one can notice a fictitious representation of a Bodhi-tree of a creeping plant of bushy growth, similarly approached on each side by two leonine animals.

4. The First Sermon, the Dharmachakra-Pravarttana-Sūtra, is represented by a kind of water-plant in the middle of the upper edge of the upper architrave, springing from behind a full-blown lotus, with eight shooting leaves, four on each side, resembling those of a fern, topping on one another and ultimately on two lotus-shaped circular petals or small flowers on the central stalk crowned by a majestic wheel.

5. The Great Decease is represented by a stūpa-model on each of the three architraves.



Hony. Fellows :—

Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore, N. L.
Dr Sir Brajendra Nath Seal, Kt, M A., Ph.D., D.Sc.
Dr Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Kt., M A, D Litt.

President :—

1 Sir Deva Prasad Sarvadhikary, Kt M A, LL D, C I E., C B E., O.B E. Suri-Ratna etc.

Vice-Presidents :—

2. The Hon'ble Justice Mr Manmatha Nath Mukerjee, M A, B L, (High Court, Calcutta).
3 M M Pandit Pramatha Nath Tarkabhusan, (Principal, Oriental Sec. Hindu University, Benares).
4 Dr Surendra Nath Das Gupta M A, Ph D (Cal), Ph D (Cantab), Principal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta.
5. Dr Bimala Churn Law, M A, B L, Ph D
6 Dr Mahendra Nath Sircar, M A, Ph D, Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta.

Treasurer :—

7 Sir Hari Sanker Paul, Kt

Members of the Committee :—

8 Acharya Sir Prafulla Chandra Roy, Kt, C I E, D Sc, etc.
9 Mr Jatindra Nath Basu, M A, M L C Attorney-at-law
10 Mr Hirendra Nath Datta M A, B L, P R S, Vedanta-Ratna, Solicitor (Bengal Theosophical Society).
11 Mr Santosh Kumar Basu, M A, B L,
12 Mahamahopadhyaya Kaviraj Gananath Sen, Saraswati, M A, L M S
13 Mr Syama Prasad Mookherjee, M A, B L, M L C, Bar-at-law. (Vice-Chancellor, Univ of Cal)
14 Prof Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M A, University of Calcutta.
15. Dr Kalidas Nag, M A, D Litt (Paris) Do
16 Dr Beni Madhav Barua, M A D Lit (Lond), Do
17 Dr Satkari Mookerjee, M A, Ph D, Do
18 Prof Amulya Charan Vidyabhusan, Vidyasagar College, Calcutta.
19 Mr Kshitindra Nath Tagore, Secy, Adi Brahmo Samaj, Calcutta.
20 Swami Kamaleswarananda, Ramkrishna Mission
21 Swami Satyananda, President Hindu Mission
22 Mr Kiran Chandra Dutt, M R A S (Lond), Secy, Vivekananda Mission, Calcutta.
23. Mr Padamraj Jain, Secy, Hindu Mahasabha.
24. Pandit Ayodhya Prasad, B A, Arya Samaj
25 Mr Puran Chand Nahar, M A, B L, (Jain Community)
26 Mr Maneckjee C H Rustomjee, M A, LLB (Zoroastrian Community)
27 Mr Tusar Kanti Ghosh, Editor, A B Patrika, Calcutta

Hony. General Secretary :—

28 Mr. Satis Chandra Seal, M A, B L

Hony. Asst. Secretaries :—

29 Dr Aurabinda Barua, M. A, Ph. D. (Lond) Bar-at-law.
30. Dr Sukumar Chakravarty, M. A, D Litt, Bar-at-Law.

Hony. Auditor.

Mr. K. S Mittra, B A., A. S. S A, A. I. R A, (Incorporated Accountant.)

RULES

1. Each fasciculus of every Series containing the Text, (with or without commentaries), English and Vernacular translations and notes will be issued periodically.

2. Each fasciculus containing not less than 112 pages and not more than 128 pages of the Vedic Series is expected to be published every month.

3. Inland subscribers of the Vedic series shall have to pay Rs. 12/- (excluding postage) per annum or Rs. 6/- (excluding postage) half-yearly in advance, and an admission fee of Re. 1/-. only.

4. Any person paying Rs. 500/- at a time will be registered as a patron and will get all the publications of every series throughout his life.

5. Any person paying Rs. 100/- at a time will be registered as a life-subscriber for any particular series which he desires, and will get monthly publications of that series throughout his life.

6. Subscribers and Life-subscribers are entitled to certain other privileges as contained in the Rules and Regulations which will be supplied to them after enrolment.

7. Foreign subscribers of the Vedic Series shall have to pay 25s. per annum (including postage) in advance.

8. Prices for buyers (other than subscribers) will vary according to the bulk of the fasciculus.

9. The Text and commentaries, the English, and the Vernacular portions will be printed in separate formes; and inland subscribers are entitled to get the original Text, English and any of the Vernacular portions, while foreign subscribers are entitled to get the original Text and the English portions.

10. Works of other series are expected to be published in book-forms whenever they will be ready and their prices will vary according to nature of the books.

11. Subscriptions for the Research Journal "Indian Culture" are Rs. 6/- (inland) and Sh. 10/- (foreign), inclusive of postage.

For further particulars, please refer to—

The Hony. General Secretary,

INDIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE,

55, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta (India)

Cover printed by J. N. Dey at the Sreekrishna Printing Works
259, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.